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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
AND ILLUSTRATED BY REMARKS,

BY

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LATE OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

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PART FOURTH.

COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES.

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PREFACE.

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THE object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, and of the goddess Ambikā, in the Vedic Hymns and Brāhmaṇas, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called Itihāsas and Purāṇas, and to shew how far, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

The First Chapter (pp. 3–53) treats of the deity who is described in the later hymns of the Rig-veda, and in the Atharva-veda, under the different titles of Viśvakarman, Hiraṇyagarbha, and Prajāpati, and appears to correspond with the Brahmā of the more modern legendary books.

Though this god was originally unconnected with Vishṇu and Rudra, while at a subsequent period he came to be regarded in systematic mythology as the first person in the triad of which they formed the second and third members, yet the general idea entertained of his character has been less modified in the course of his history than is the case in regard to the other two deities.

Brahmā was from the beginning considered as the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishṇu and Mahādeva respectively as the mere creature and agent of one or other of those two gods (see pp. 156, 162, 193, 226, 230). In later times Brahmā has had few special worshippers; the only spot where he is periodically adored being at Pushkara in Rajputana.* Two of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to him, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise and of a boar, are in later works transferred to Vishṇu (see pp. 23, 29 ff., 374).

The Second Chapter first of all describes the original conception of Vishṇu as he is celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 54–83). The particular attribute by which he is there distinguished from every other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky; and by another as designating the three stages of the sun's daily movement, his rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed in the description; but it must be confessed that an obscurity rests over this conception. Some of the highest divine functions and attributes are also assigned to Vishṇu; and we might

* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Padma Purāṇa, in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, No. X. p. 309, and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21.

thus be led to suppose that the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishṇu in the performance of these functions, and that several other deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 84–101). The Third Section (pp. 101–106) treats of Vishṇu as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to this god would lead us to conclude that he was originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. . . The Fourth Section contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṇas, in which he is identified with sacrifice; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas (pp. 107–131). In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 131 ff.) in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishṇu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section, and pp. 377–413 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Krishṇa, the two heroes

who came ultimately to be regarded as incarnations of Vishṇu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Krishṇa make frequent mention of Mahādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these two gods. In different passages here cited, Vishṇu and Rudra (Mahādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rig-veda (pp. 252–267), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (267–276), in the Atharva-veda (276–282), in the Brāhmaṇas (282–296), in the Upaṇishads (297–305), and in various further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas which describe some of this god's proceedings, and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Daxa's sacrifice (305–332). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 332–343, to which I refer. Pages 343–356 contain an enquiry into the origin of the Linga worship, though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously

Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṅśa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

A further indication of the various matters illustrated in this Volume will be obtained by consulting the Index under the names Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the main results at which I have arrived in regard to Vishṇu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R. V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R. V. i. p. xxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shewn that the three steps of Vishṇu were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 55 f.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 332 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṇas. And in pp. 357 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

My best thanks are due to the different scholars who

are mentioned in the course of the Work as having given me assistance; and in particular to Professor Aufrecht, whose name recurs perpetually in the following pages, and who has favoured me with the most valuable suggestions and information in respect particularly to the sense of the Vedic texts, which long and careful study has rendered him so competent to interpret.

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ERRATA.

Page 83, line 8 from the bottom, *for* "A. V. 525, 5," *read* "5, 25, 5."

„ 130, line 1, and line 5 from the bottom, *for* "sect. 21," *read* "sect. 23."

„ 224, verse 20, *for* "Devakū," *read* "Devakī."

„ 240, line 33. The reference ([231]) should have been placed after the word "Vishṇu" in the next line.

„ 252, line 13, *for* "representation," *read* "representations."

„ 256, line 10, *for* "your," *read* "thy."

„ 257, line 18, *for* "is celebrated," *read* "is devoutly celebrated by heroes."

„ 266, line 11 from the bottom, *for* "R. V. x. 126, 1," *read* "R. V. x. 136, 1."

„ 267, line 22, for "*Rudrāy adhanur*," read "*Rudrāya dhanur*."

„ 282, line 22, for "*tsayaitāni*," read "*tasyaitāni*."

„ 283, lines 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, and 34, for "*asato 'smi*," read "*ato 'smi*."

„ 284, lines 23 and 27, and page 385, lines 3, 7, 11, 15 and 19, *for* "I am greater than one who does not exist," *read* "I am greater than this."

„ 300, line 4, *for* "34, 4," *read* "32, 4."

„ 307, line 7, *for* "48," *read* "44."

„ 309, line 17, *for* "Gandavas," *read* "Gandharvas."

„ 310, line 23, for "*Vibhūshaṇa*," read "*Vibhīshaṇa*."

„ —, line 8 from the bottom, *for* "Vana-pava," *read* "Vana-parva."

„ 311, last line. Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, in pp. 278, 279.

„ 350, line 15, *for* "26," *read* "28."

„ 394, line 12 from the bottom, *for* "490," *read* "390."

„ 395, line 14 from the bottom, *for* "sect. x. 40, 44," *read* "sect. 40, 44."

„ 404, line 10, omit the words, "Araṇya Kāṇḍa."

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

PART FOURTH.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

REFERENCE has already been made in the Second Part of this work (pp. 212-216) to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Vishṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda, with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns, and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later legends and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

This gradual modification of Indian mythological conceptions will indeed be found to have already commenced in the Rig-veda itself, if we compare its later with its earlier portions; it becomes more clearly discernible when we descend from the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas; and continues to exhibit itself still more prominently in the Purāṇic writers, who, through a long course of ages, gave free scope to their fancy in the embellishment of old, and the invention of new, legends in honour of their favourite gods, till at last the repre-

sentations given of the most popular divinities became not only at variance with the characteristics ascribed to their prototypes in the Vedas, but even in some respects different from the descriptions which occur in the older Purāṇas themselves.

These successive mutations in Indian mythology need not occasion us any surprise, as they merely afford another exemplification of a process which may be remarked in the history of all nations which have given free scope to thought, to feeling, and to imagination, in matters of religion.

In carrying out the plan just sketched, I shall, first of all, quote the texts in the Vedic hymns which refer to the creation of the world, and to the god Hiraṇyagarbha or Prajāpati; these shall be succeeded (2) by passages from the Brāhmaṇas, and (3) by quotations from Menu, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas having reference to the same subjects.

I shall then proceed in a similar order with the various texts which relate to the gods Vishṇu and Rudra, with occasional notices of any other Indian deities whose history it may appear desirable to illustrate.

CHAPTER I.

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRAHMANAS, AND PURANAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE GOD HIRÁNYAGARBHA, PRAJAPATI, OR BRAHMA.

SECT. I.—*Texts from the Rig-veda regarding the creation and Hiraṇyagarbha.*

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, X. 129.

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.—*Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīṁ na āsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat | kim āvarīvaḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanaṁ gabhīram | 2. Na mṛityur āsīd amṛitaṁ na tarhi na rātryā ahna*[1] *āsīt praketaḥ | ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ tasmād hānyad na paraḥ kiñchanāsa | 3. Tama āsīt tamasā gūḷham agre*[2] *apraketaṁ salilaṁ sarvam ā idam | tuchhyena ābhv apihitaṁ yad āsīt tapasas tad mahinā 'jāyataikam | 4. Kāmas*[3] *tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamaṁ yad āsīt | sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratīshyā kavayo manīshā | 5.* (Vāj. S. xxxiii. 74) *Tiraśchīno vitato raśmir eshām*

[1] The Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 2, 21 f., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us and employs it in support of the Sānkhya doctrine of *Pradhāna: Veda-vāda-vido viprā niyatā Brahma-vādinaḥ | paṭhanti vai tam evārtham Pradhāna-pratipādakam | 22. Nāho na rātrir na nabho na bhūmir nāsīt tamo jyotir abhūd na vā 'nyat | śrotrādi-buddhyānupalabhyam ekam prādhānikam Brahma pumāṁs tadāsīt |* "Brahmans learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the following statement establishing the doctrine of Pradhāna: 22. 'There was neither day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor anything else. There was then the One, Brahmā in the form of Pradhāna, the Male, incomprehensible by the ear, or other senses, or by the intellect.'"

[2] These words are quoted by Kullūka or Manu, i. 5, of which passage this may be the germ.

[3] In the passages which I shall quote from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc. further on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajāpati are constantly said to have been preceded by desire: *so 'kāmayata*, "he desired," etc.

adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt | retodhā āsan mahimāna āsan svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt | 6. Ko aṇga veda ka iha pravochat kuta ājātā kuta iyaṁ visṛishtiḥ | arvāg devā asya visarjjanena atha ko veda yata ābabhūva | 7. Iyaṁ visṛishṭir yata ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na | yo asyādhyaxaḥ parame vyoman so aṇga veda yadi vā na veda |

"There was then neither nonentity, nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor sky beyond it. What covered [all?] where was the receptacle of each thing? was it water, the deep abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: That One breathed calmly, with *svadhā* (nature); there was nothing different from It [that One] or beyond It. 3. Darkness there was; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; the empty[4] [mass] which was concealed by a husk [or by nothingness] was produced, single, by the power of austerity (or heat). 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the first germ of mind. This the wise, seeking in their heart, have discovered by the intellect to be the bond between nonentity and entity. 5. The ray which shot across these things,—was it above, or was it below? There were productive energies, and mighty powers; Nature (*svadhā*) beneath, and Energy (*prayati*) above. 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to its formation; who then knows from what it arose? 7. From what source this creation arose and whether [any one] created it or not,[5]—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or He does not know."

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his "History of Ancient Sanskṛit Literature," pp. 559-566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his "Pāṇini," pp. 144 f.

VISVAKARMAN,—RIG-VEDA, X. 81 AND 82.

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff. (=Vāj. S. 17, 17-23).—*Ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad ṛishir hotā nyasīdat pitā naḥ | sa āśishā draviṇam ichhamāna*

[4] See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words *ābhu* and *tuchchhya*.

[5] *Ob Einer sie schuf oder nicht.* Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root *dhā* (p. 903).

prathama-chhad avarān āviveśa | 2. *Kiṁ svid āsīd adhishṭhānam ārambhaṇaṁ kathamat svit kathā 'sīt* | *yato bhūmiṁ janayan Viśvakarmā vi dyām aurṇod mahinā viśvachaxāḥ* | 3. (A. V. 13, 2, 26) *Viśvataśchaxur uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt* | *sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati sam patatrair dyāvā-bhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ*[6] | 4. *Kiṁ svid vanaṁ ka u sa vṛixa āsa yato dyāvā-pṛithivī nishṭataxuḥ* | *manīshiṇo manasā pṛichhatedu tad yad adhyatishṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan* | 5. *Yā te dhāmāni paramāṇi yā 'vamā yā madhyamā Viśvakarmann utemā* | *śixā sakhibhyo havishi svadhāvaḥ svayaṁ yajasva tanvaṁ vṛidhānaḥ* | 6. (=S. V. 2, 939.) *Viśvakarman havishā vāvṛidhānaḥ svayaṁ yajasva pṛithivīm uta dyām*[7] | *muhyantu anye abhito janāsa*[8] *ihāsmākam maghavā sūrir astu* | 7. (=Vāj. S. 8, 45.) *Vāchaspatiṁ Viśvakarmāṇam ūtaye manojuvaṁ vāje adyā huvema* | *sa no viśvāni havanāni joshad viśvaśambhūr avase sādhukarmā* |

R. V. x. 82, 1 ff. (=Vāj. S. 17, 25-31).—*Chaxushas pitā manasā hi dhīro ghṛitam*[9] *ene ajanad namnamāne* | *yadā id antā adadṛihanta pūrve ād id dyāvā-pṛithivī aprathetām* | 2. *Viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyā dhātā vidhātā paramota saṁdṛik*[10] | *teshām ishṭāni sam ishā madanti yatrā sapta ṛishīn para ekam āhuḥ* | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) *Yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā dhāmāni veda bhuvanāni viśvā* | *yo devānāṁ nāmadhā eka eva taṁ sampraśnam bhuvanā yanti anyā* | 4. *Te āyajanta draviṇaṁ sam asmai ṛishayaḥ pūrve jaritāro na bhūnā* | *asūrte sūrte rajasi nishatte ye bhūtāni samakṛiṇvann imāni* | 5. *Paro divā para enā pṛithivyā paro devebhir asurair yad asti* | *kaṁ svid garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśve* | 6. *Tam id garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samagachhanta viśve* | *ajasya nābhāv adhy ekam arpitaṁ yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuḥ* | 7. *Na taṁ vidātha ya imā jajāna anyad yushmākam antaram babhūva* | *nīhāreṇa prāvṛitā jalpyā cha asutṛipa ukthaśāsaś charanti* |

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—"Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated a sacrifice, offering up all these worlds,—he earnestly desiring substance, veiling his earliest [form], entered into later [men]. 2. What

[6] The readings in the A. V. differ a good deal from those of the R. V.

[7] Instead of *pṛithivīm uta dyām* the S. V. reads *tanvāṁ svā ṛi te.*

[8] Instead of *janāsaḥ* the Vāj. S. reads *sapatnāḥ.*

[9] Compare R. V. v. 83, 8.

[10] See R. V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth' Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.

was the position, what, and of what kind was the beginning, from which the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might? 3. The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth, blows it forth[11] with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth? Enquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Grant, Viśvakarman, to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle. Do thou who art rich in oblations, augmenting thyself, worship thyself[12] at the sacrifice. 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, growing by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are against me become fools. May Maghavan [or the opulent god] be here our sage. 7. Let us to-day invoke at our sacrifice the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations."

R. V. x. 82, 1.—"The protector of the eye, wise in mind, generated moisture when these two [worlds] were bowing down. When their eastern ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, pervading, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of vision. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all regions and worlds, who alone assigns to the gods their names,[13] to him the other worlds go as their refuge (?). 4. The former rishis, his worshippers, who formed these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters[14] contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected. One

[11] Compare R. V. x. 72, 2, below.

[12] See Roth S. V. *tanv*, and R. V. x. 7, 6; vi. 11, 2.

[13] *Nāma cha pitā eva karoti* | Mahīdhara.

[14] Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.

[receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all the worlds stood. 7. Ye know not him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The verses of which they are made up, are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, (xvii. 17-23, and 25-31) in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda; and without any various readings of importance. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Pariśishṭa, ii. 10. Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, (pp. 141, f.) offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the 'creator of all things,' and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 12, 61,[15] is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man); and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed..... The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

The legend here referred to by Professor Roth is given by Yāska, Nirukta, x. 26:

Tatretihāsam āchaxate | Viśvakarmā Bhauvanaḥ sarvamedhe sarvāṇi bhūtāni juhavāñchakāra sa ātmānam apy antato juhavāñchakara | tadabhivādiny eshā ṛig bhavati 'ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad' iti |

[15] *Prajāpatir Viśvak rmā vimuñchatu.*

"Here they tell a story: Viśvakarman son of Bhuvana offered up all creatures at an universal sacrifice (*sarvamedha*). He finally offered up himself also. The following verse (R. V. x. 81, 1) is descriptive of this, viz., 'he who offering up all worlds,' etc."

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81), Professor Roth remarks thus: "For the correct understanding of the second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages, the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, *yathā 'yaja ṛitubhir dēva dērān evā yajasva tanvaṁ sujāta* | 'As thou (o Agni) at the measured times, o god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.' Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be understood; *svayaṁ yajasva tanvaṁ vṛidhānaḥ* | 'sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification': the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word *tanū*,[16] and of the construction of the root *yaj*. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner: 'He who received all these creatures as offerings.' In the passage before us (the 6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: 'Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.' The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession, is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., *tanvāṁ svā hi te*, 'offer thy body, for it is thine,' instead of *pṛithivīm uta dyām*, 'offer earth and heaven') may be an amendment in support of the legend."

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Sukta. See the First Part of this work,

[16] In his remarks on the word *Tanūnapāt* in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes: "The signification has been overlooked, which *tanū* obtains in the older Sanskrit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word *Tanūnapāt* as meaning 'his own son.' Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers." See also Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word *Tanūnapāt*.

pp. 7, 8. Perhaps both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrificing to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

[I may here remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., gives a sort of paraphrase on the Purusha Sūkta. The author then puts into the mouth of Brahmā the following lines (verses 21 ff.), which are intended to illustrate the 7th and following stanzas of that allegorical hymn:

21. *Yadā 'sya nābhyād nalinād aham āsam mahātmanaḥ | nāvindaṁ yajña-sambhārān Purushāvayavān ṛite | 22. Teshu yajñasya paśavaḥ sa-vanaspatayaḥ kuśāḥ | idañcha deva-yajanaṁ kālaśchoru-guṇānvitaḥ | 23. Vāstūny oshadhayaḥ snehā rasa-loha-mṛido jalam | ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni chāturhotrañcha sattama | 24. Nāmadheyāni mantrāścha dakṣiṇāścha vratāni cha | devatānukramaḥ kalpaḥ saṅkalpas tantram eva cha | 25. Gatayo matayaś chaiva prāyaśchittaṁ samarpaṇam | Purushāvayavair ete sambhārāḥ sambhṛitā mayā | 26. Iti sambhṛita-sambhāraḥ Purushāvayavair aham | tam eva Purushaṁ yajñaṁ tenaivāyajam īśvaram |*

"21. When I was produced," says Brahmā, "from the lotus sprung out of the navel of that great Being, I found no materials for sacrifice excepting the members of Purusha. 22. Among them were the victims, the sacrificial posts, the *kuśa* grass; they formed the sacrificial ground, and the seasons with their various qualities. The utensils, the grains, the unctuous substances, the flavours, the metals, the earths, the water, the verses of the Rich, the Yajush, and the Sāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the hymns, the gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication, all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Purusha. Having thus drawn from the members of Purusha all these appliances, I by this means offered up Purusha, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice."

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82), as follows: "They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (*rajas*) created those beings . . . . . furnished to him the material." In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word *asūrtta*, not by "still," but by

"distant;" and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

BRAHMAṆASPATI, DAKṢA, AND ADITI,—RIG-VEDA, X. 72.

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—*Devānām nu vayaṁ jānā pravochāma vipanyayā | ukthéshu śaśyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge*[17] | 2. *Brahmaṇaspatir etā saṁ karmāra*[18] *ivādhamat | devānam pūrvye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata*[19] | 3. *Devānām yuge prathamo asataḥ sad ajāyata | tad āśāḥ anv ajāyanta tad Uttānapadas pari* | 4. *Bhūr jajñe Uttānapado bhuva āśā ajāyanta | Aditer Dakṣo ajāyata Dakṣād u Aditiḥ pari* | 5. *Aditir hi ajanishṭa Dakṣa yā duhitā tava | Tāṁ devā anv ajāyanta bhadrā amṛita-bandhavaḥ* | 6. *Yad devā adaḥ•salile*[20] *susaṁrabdhāḥ atishṭhata | atra vo nṛityatām iva tīvro reṇur apāyata* | 7. *Yad devā*[21] *yatayo yathā bhuvanāni apinvata | atra samudre āgūḷham ā sūryam ajabharttana* | 8. *Aṣhṭau putrāso Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari | devān upa prait saptabhiḥ parā Mārttāṇḍam āsyat*[22] | 9. *Saptabhiḥ putrair Aditer upa prait pūrvyaṁ yugam | prajāyai mṛityave tvat punar Mārttāṇḍam ābharat*[23] |

"1. Let us celebrate with praise the births of the gods, in uttered hymns, [every one of us], who may behold them in [this] later age. 2. Brahmaṇaspati blew forth all these [births] like a blacksmith. In the former age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-

[17] See Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma Veda, under the word *yuga*.

[18] *Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastrayā 'gnim upadhamaty evam udapādayat* | (Sāyaṇa) "As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellows, so he created them." Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 5.

[19] Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—*Bṛihanto nāma te devā ye 'sataḥ pari jajñire | ekaṁ tad aṅgaṁ Skambhasya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ* | "Great are those gods who sprang from nonentity. Men say that that remote nonentity is one member of Skambha." This production of the gods out of nothing seems to be contrary to the doctrine of the Chhandogya Upanishad. *Tad ha eke āhur "asad evedam agre āsīd ekam evādvitīyaṁ tasmād asataḥ saj jāyeta" | Kutas tu khalu saumya evaṁ syād iti hovācha katham asataḥ saj jāyeta iti* | (Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. pp. 389, 392.) "Some say 'this was originally non-existent, one without a second; therefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 'But how, gentle friend,' he said, 'can it be so? how can the existent spring from the non-existent?'"

[20] Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.

[21] This word *yatayaḥ*, "devotees," is applied to the Bhṛigus in R. V. viii. 6, 18. Here Sāyaṇa makes it *meghāḥ*, "clouds."

[22] *Parāsyat = upari prāxipat*, "tossed aloft" (Sāyaṇa).

[23] *Abharat = āharat = dyuloke adhō ·ayat*, "placed in the sky" (Sāyaṇa).

existent. 3. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent. Then the different regions sprang forth from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad; and the regions sprang from the earth. Daxa sprang from Aditi, and Aditi [came] forth from Daxa. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, o Daxa. After her the gods came into being, beneficent, sharers in immortality. 6. When ye, o gods, stood, strongly agitated, in that water, there a violent dust issued forth from you, as from [persons] dancing. 7. When ye, o gods, like devotees [or strenuous men], replenished the worlds, then ye disclosed the sun which had been hidden in the ocean [or in the sky]. 8. The eight sons who were born from the body of Aditi,—with seven [of these] she approached the gods, but cast away [the eighth] Mārttāṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached [the gods in?] the former age. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārttāṇḍa.[24]

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (*sujyotishaḥ*) as being the sons or descendants of Daxa (*Daxa-pitṛīn*). These notices of Daxa which occur in the Rig-veda have been greatly developed in the later mythology, as may be seen by a reference to the passages given in the First Part of this work, pp. 25-27. Uttānapāda is said in the Vishṇu Purāṇa to have been a son of Manu Svāyambhuva by Śatarūpā (*ibid.* p. 25).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: *Ādityo Daxa ity āhur Āditya-madhye cha stutaḥ | Aditir Dāxāyaṇī | "Aditer Daxo ajāyata Daxād u Aditiḥ parī" iti cha | tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām ity api vā deva-dharmeṇa itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretara-prakṛitī |* "Daxa is, they say, a son of Aditi, and is praised among the sons of Aditi. And Aditi is the daughter of Daxa, [according to the text] *Daxa sprang from Aditi, and Aditi came forth from Daxa.* How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or according to the

[24] The word *Mārttāṇḍa* is compounded of two words *mārtta*, apparently derived from *mṛityu*, death, and *aṇḍa*, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivaṁśa v. 549, thus interprets the word: *Na khalv ayam mṛito 'ṇḍastha iti snehād abhāshata | ajñānāt Kaśyapas tasmād Mārttāṇḍa iti chochyate |* "Kaśyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, 'he is not dead, abiding in the egg;' hence he is called Mārttaṇḍa."

nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other,—have derived their substance from one another."

Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 151), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: "Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttānapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daxa (spiritual force), and from Daxa again Aditi. Yes, Aditi was born, o Daxa, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality." He then proceeds to remark: "Daxa, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life."

Sāyana annotates thus on the 8th verse of the hymn:

"Ashṭau putrāsaḥ" putrā Mitrādayo 'diter bhavanti | "Ye Adites tanvas pari" śarīrāj "jātāḥ" utpannāḥ | Aditer ashṭa-putrā Ādhvaryyava-brāhmaṇe pariganitāḥ | tathā hi | "tān anukramishyāmo Mitraścha Varuṇaścha Dhātācha Aryamācha Aṁśaścha Bhagaścha Vivasvān Ādityaścheti" | tathā tatraiva pradeśāntare Aditim prastutya āmnātam "tasyā uchchheshaṇam adadhus tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai chatvāra Ādityā ajāyanta sā dvitīyam apibad" ityādinā ashṭānām Ādityānām utpattir varṇitā |

"Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Adhvaryus, thus: 'We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.' In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded: 'They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion],' etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas."

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3, 1, 3, 3 ff.) gives the following explanation of the same (the 8th) verse of this hymn:

Ashṭau ha vai putrā Aditeḥ | Yāṁs tv etad "devā Ādityā" ity āchakṣate sapta ha eva te | avikṛitaṁ[25] ha ashṭamaṁ janayāñchakāra Mārttāṇḍam | sandegho[26] ha erāsa | yāvān evordhvas tāvāṁs tiryaṇ

[25] *Avikṛitam kara-charaṇādi-vikāra iti tad-rahitam* | Comm.

[26] *Samyag upachitaḥ sama e āsīt* | Comm.

purusha-sammita ity u ha eke āhuḥ | 4. *Te u ha ete ūchur devā Ādityā "yad asmān anv ajanimā tad amuyeva bhūd* | *hanta imaṁ vikaravāma"* iti | *taṁ vichakrur yathā 'yam purusho vikṛitas tasya yāni māṁsāni saṅkṛitya sannyāsus tato hastī samabhavat* | *tasmād āhur "na hastinam parigṛihṇīyāt purushājāno*[27] *hi hastī"* iti | *yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ* |

After quoting the text of the Rig-veda the author of the Brāhmaṇa proceeds:

"Aditi had eight sons. But there are only seven [gods] whom men call the Āditya deities. For she produced the eighth, Mārttāṇḍa, destitute of any modifications of shape, (without hands and feet, etc.) He was smeared all over: of the dimensions of a man, as broad as long, say some. The Āditya deities said, 'If in his nature he be not conformable to us, then it will be unfortunate; come let us alter his shape.' Thus saying, they altered his shape, as this man is modified. An elephant sprang out of those [pieces of] his flesh which they cut off, and threw away. Wherefore men say, 'let no one take (?) an elephant, for an elephant partakes of the nature of man. He whom they then altered was Vivasvat (the Sun) the son of Aditi, from whom these creatures are descended."

HIRANYAGARBHA,—RIG-VEDA, X. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—*Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ*[28] *samavarttatāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ*[29] *patir eka āsīt* | *sa dādhāra pṛithivīṁ dyām utemāṁ kasmai devāya*[30] *havishā vidhema* | 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13:

[27] *Purushājānaḥ purusha-prakṛitikaḥ* | Comm.

[28] *Hiraṇye hiraṇya-purusha-rūpe brahmāṇḍe garbha-rūpeṇa avasthitaḥ Prajāpatir Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ bhūtasya prāṇijātasya agre samavarttata praṇijātotpatteḥ purā svayaṁ śarīra-dhārī babhūva* | "Prajāpati Hiraṇyagarbha, existing as an embryo, in the egg of Brahmā, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (*purusha*), sprang into being before all living creatures—himself took a body before the production of all living creatures." Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4.

[29] *Jātaḥ*. Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1: R. V. x. 133, 2, *aśatrur Indra jajñisho* | "Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;" and R. V. viii. 21, 13. . . . . *tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi* | "Indra of old art thou *by nature* without a fellow."

[30] *Kasmai devāya* | *Kasmai Kāya Prajāpataye devāya* | "*Kasmai*, 'to whom,' is for *Kāya*, the dative of *Ka*, the god Prajāpati." Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. *Prajāpatir vai Kas tasmai havishā vidhema* | "*Ka* is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations." Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 1, 19.

A. V. 4, 2, 1.) *Ya ātmadā baladā yasya viśve upāsate praśisham yasya devāḥ | yasya chhāyā 'mṛitaṁ yasya mṛityuḥ kasmai devāya ityādi | 3.* (Vāj. S. 23, 3: A. V. 4, 2, 2.) *Yaḥ prāṇato nimishato mahitvā eka id rājā jagato babhūva | ya īśe asya dvipadaś chatushpadaḥ kasmai ityādi | 4.* (Vāj. S. 25, 12: A. V. 4, 2, 5.) *Yasyeme himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā*[31] *sahāhuḥ | yasyemāḥ pradiśo yasya bāhū kasmai ityādi | 5.* (Vāj. S. 32, 6, 7: A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) *Yena dyaur ugrā pṛithivī cha dṛiḷhā yena svaḥ stabhitaṁ yena nākaḥ | yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānaḥ kasmai ityādi | 6. Yaṁ krandasī*[32] *avasā tastabhāne abhy aikṣetām manasā rejamāne | yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti kasmai ityādi | 7.* (Vāj. S. 27, 25: A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) *Āpo ha yad bṛihatīr viśvam āyan garbhaṁ*[33] *dadhānā janayantīr agnim | tato devānāṁ samavarttatāsur ekaḥ kasmai ityādi | 8.* (=Vāj. S. 27, 26.) *Yaś chid āpo mahinā paryapaśyad daxaṁ dadhānā janayantīr yajñam | yo deveshv adhi deva eka āsīt kasmai ityādi | 9.* (=Vāj. S. 12, 102.) *Mā no hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ pṛithiryā yo vā divaṁ satyadharmā jajāna | yaś chāpaś chandrā bṛihatīr jajāna kasmai*[34] *ityādi | 10.* (=Vāj. S. 10, 20: A. V. 7, 79, 4; 7, 80, 3: Nir. x. 43.) *Prajāpate na tvad etāny anyo viśvā jātāni pari tā babhūva | yatkāmās te juhumas tan no astu vayaṁ syāma patayo rayīṇām |*

"1. Hiraṇyagarbha arose in the beginning; he was the one born lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who

[31] On the word *rasā*, see the Second Part of this work, pp. 357 and 494.

[32] *Krandasī* | "This word is explained in Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.

[33] Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymns, x. 129, 1, 3; x. 82, 5, 6; and x. 72, 6.

[34] I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Maṇḍala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of *kasmai* the 168th hymn has *tasmai*. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. ..... *kva svij jātaḥ kuta ābabhūva | 4. ātmā devānām bhuvanasya garbho yathāvaśaṁ charati deva eshaḥ | ghoshā id asya śṛiṇvire na rūpaṁ tasmai Vātāya havishā vidhema* | "Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard but [we see] not his form: to this Vāta (wind) let us offer our oblations." Compare St. John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou nearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."

gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasā [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc. 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom heaven and earth, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (*asu*) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who formed the great and brilliant waters,—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches."

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Saṅhitā, and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahīdhara's Commentary on the former Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his Ancient Sanskṛit Literature, p. 569 f. In his annotations on verse 7, the commentator refers to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1:

Āpo ha vā idam agre salilam evāsa | "This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;" and explains the words *garbhaṁ dadhānāḥ*, "containing a germ," thus: *tathā garbhaṁ Hiraṇyagarbha-lakṣaṇaṁ dadhānāḥ dhārayantyaḥ ata eva agnim janayantīḥ agni-rūpaṁ Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ janayantyaḥ utpādayishyantyaḥ* | "And also containing an embryo (*garbha*) distinguished as the golden embryo (*Hiraṇya-garbha*); and consequently generating (being about to produce) fire,—Hiraṇyagarbha in the form of fire." The Atharva-veda reads this

seventh verse somewhat differently, thus (A. V. 4, 2, 6): *Āpo agre viśvam āvan garbhaṁ dadhānā amṛitā ṛitajñāḥ | yāsu devīshv adhi deva asīt kasmai ityādi* | "In the beginning, the waters, immortal, and versed in the sacred ceremonies, protected (covered?) the universe, containing an embryo; over these divine [waters] was the god," etc. The verse which comes next, the seventh in the A. V., is the first in the R. V. The eighth in the A. V., which has none answering to it in the R. V., is as follows: *Apo vatsaṁ janayantīr garbham agre samairayan | tasyota jāyamānasya ulba āsīd hiraṇyayaḥ | kasmai devāya ityādi*—"In the beginning the waters, producing a child, brought forth an embryo, which as it was coming into life, was enveloped in a golden covering."

The idea of the production of a god from the embryo generated in the waters, seems to be contained in the seventh verse of the hymn before us (R. V. x. 121, 7); but whether the author would have identified that god with the Brahmā of the later mythology, I will not decide. In the verse attached to the hymn as the 10th, at least, the deity celebrated in the hymn is addressed by the appellation of Prajāpati, which became a title of Brahmā. The last verse which I have quoted from the A. V. (iv. 2, 8) assigns a "golden covering" to the embryo produced by the waters.

In another part of the same Veda (A. V. x. 7, 28) the following verse occurs: *Hiraṇyagarbham paramam anatyudyam janā viduḥ | Skambhas tadagre prāsiñchad hiraṇyam loke antarā* | "Men know Hiraṇyagarbha, the supreme, the ineffable: before him Skambha [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world."

I shall make some additional quotations from the hymn of the A. V. in which the last cited verse occurs, and the next following.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ATHARVA-VEDA, X. 7, AND X. 8.

A.V. x. 7.—*Yasmin stabdhvā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhārayat | Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ* | 8. *Yat paramam avamaṁ yachcha madhyamam Prajāpatiḥ sasṛije viśva-rūpam | kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra yan na prāviśat kiyat tad babhūva* | 9. *Kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa bhūtaṁ kiyad bhavishyad anvāśaye 'sya | ekaṁ yad aṅgam akṛiṇot sahasradhā kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra* | . . . . 17. *Ye purushe*

brahma vidus te viduḥ parameshṭhinam | yo veda parameshṭhinaṁ yaścha veda Prajāpatim | jyeshṭhaṁ ye brāhmaṇam vidus te Skambham anusaṁviduḥ | . . . . 24. Yatra devā brahmavido brahma jyeshṭham upāsate | yo vai tān vidyāt pratyaxaṁ sa brahmā veditā syāt | . . . . . 32. Yasya bhūmiḥ pramā antarixam utodaram | divaṁ yaś chakre mūrdhānaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ | . . . . 35. Skambho dādhāra dyāvā-pṛithivī ubhe imo Skambho dādhārorv antarixam | Skambho dādhāra pradiśaḥ shaḍ urvī(ḥ?) Skambha idaṁ viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa | 36. Yaḥ śramāt tapaso jāto lokān sarvān samānaśe | somaṁ yaś chakre kevalaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya brahmaṇe namaḥ | . . . . 41. Yo vetasaṁ[35] hiraṇyayaṁ tishṭhantam salile veda | sa vai guhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ |

A. V. x. 8, 2.—*Skambhenemo vishṭabhitę dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tishṭhatah | Skambha idaṁ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṇad nimishachcha yat | . . . . 11. Yad ejati patati yachcha tishṭhati prāṇad aprāṇan nimishachcha yad bhuvat | tad dādhāra pṛithivīm viśvarūpaṁ tat sambhūya bhavaty ekam eva | . . . . . 44. Akāmo dhīro amṛitaḥ svayambhū rasena tṛipto na kutaśchanonaḥ | tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛityor ātmānaṁ dhīram ajaraṁ yuvānam |*

A. V. x. 7, 7.—"Tell who that Skambha (supporter) is, on whom Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest, and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created; and how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? . . . . . 17. Those men who know Brahma (the divine Being?) in the Male (*Purusha*), know him who occupies the highest place (*Parameshṭhin*): he who knows Parameshṭhin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the ancient Brāhmaṇa (Deity?), they know Skambha. . . . . 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of Brahma, reverence the ancient Brahma,—that priest (*brahmā*) who knows them clearly, is the knower. . . . . 32. Reverence to that eldest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who

[35] I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense which is assigned to the word *vaitasa* in R. V. x. 95, 4, 5; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1; and Nir. iii. 21.

made the sky his head. . . . . 35. Skamba established both these [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambha established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that eldest Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from devotion, has pervaded all the worlds, who made Soma for himself alone. . . . . 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

A. V. x. 8, 2.—"These two [worlds] the earth and sky, stand, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks. . . . . 11. Whatever moves, falls, or stands, whatever exists breathing, or not breathing, or winking,—all this, comprehending every form, sustains the earth; gathering together, that becomes one only. . . . . 44. Knowing him, the Soul, calm, undecaying, young, who is passionless, tranquil, self-existent, satisfied with enjoyment, wanting in nothing,—a man is not afraid of death."

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent references to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rig-veda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the "Supporter," or "Propper," whose personification may have been suggested by the function of "supporting" the earth and heavens, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is frequently ascribed to Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, and Savitṛi.

The verse last quoted (x. 8, 44) seems to contain the idea of the supreme Soul as the object of knowledge.

SECT. II.—*Creation; primeval waters; mundane egg, Prajāpati, etc., according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, Vishṇu Purāṇa, etc.*

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber's ed.)—*Asad vā idam agre āsīt | tad āhuḥ 'kiṁ tad asad āsīd' iti | ṛishayo vāva te 'agre 'sad āsīt' tad āhuḥ | 'ke te ṛishaya' iti | prāṇā vā ṛishayas te*

yat purā 'smāt sarvasmād idam ichhantaḥ śrameṇa tapasā 'rishaṁs tasmād ṛishayaḥ | 2. *Sa yo 'yam madhye prāṇa esha evendraḥ* | *tān esha prāṇān madhyata indriyeṇaindha* | *yad aindha tasmād Indhaḥ* | *Indho ha vai tam Indra ity ācharate paroxam* | *paroxa-kāmā hi devās te iddhāḥ sapta nānā purushān asṛijanta* | 3. *Te 'bruvan "na vā itthaṁ santaḥ śaxyāmaḥ prajanayitum imān sapta purushān* | *ekam purushaṁ karavāma" iti te otān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan* | *yad ūrddhvaṁ nābhes tau dvau samaubjan* | *yad avāṇ nābhes tau dvau* | *paxaḥ purushaḥ* | *paxaḥ purushaḥ* | *pratishṭhā eka āsīt* | . . . . . 5. *Sa eva purushaḥ Prajāpatir abhavad ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agniś*[36] *chīyate* | 6. *Sa vai sapta-purusho bhavati* | *sapta-purusho hy ayam purusho yach chatvāra ātmā trayaḥ paxa-puchhāni* | *chatvāro hi tasya purushasya ātmā trayaḥ paxa-puchhāni* | *atha yad ekena purusheṇa ātmānaṁ vardhayati tena vīryeṇa ayam ātmā paxa-puchhāni udyachhati* | . . . . . 8. *So 'yam purushaḥ Prajāpatir akāmayata 'bhūyān syām prajāyeya' iti* | *so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata* | *sa śrāntas tepāno brahmaiva prathamam asṛijata trayīm eva vidyām* | *saivāsmai pratishṭhā 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'brahmāsya sarvasya pratishṭhā' iti* | *tasmād anūchya pratitishṭhati pratishṭhā hy eshā yad brahma* | *tasyām pratishṭhāyām pratishṭhito 'tapyata* | 9. *So 'po 'sṛijata vācha eva lokād vāg evāsya sā 'sṛijyata sā idaṁ sarvam āpnot* | *yad idaṁ kiñcha yad āpnot tasmād āpaḥ*[37] | *yad avṛiṇot tasmād vāḥ* | 10. *So 'kāmayata 'ābhyo 'bhyo 'dhi prajāyeya' iti so 'nayā trayyā vidyayā saha apaḥ prāviśat tata āṇḍaṁ samavarttata tad abhyamṛiśad 'astv' ity 'astu' bhūyo ''stv' ity eva tad abravīt* | *tato brahmaiva prathamam asṛijyata trayy eva vidyā* | *tasmād āhur 'brahmāsya sarvasya prathamajam' ity* | *api hi tasmāt purushād brahmaiva pūrvam asṛijyata tad asya tad mukham eva asṛijyata* | *tasmād anūchānam āhur 'Agni-kalpa' iti mukhaṁ hy etad Agner yad brahma* |

"In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The rishis say that in the beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring this [universe], strove (? *arishan*) with toil and austerity, therefore they are called *Rishis*. 2. This breath which is in the midst

[36] Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 1[2], and 27 (pp. 502, 3); ix. 2, 2, 2 (p. 713); vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14.

[37] Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3.

is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inasmuch as he kindled them, he is the kindler (*Indha*). They call Indha Indra imperceptibly: for the gods love that which is imperceptible. They being kindled, created seven separate men (*purusha*). 3. They said, 'being thus, we shall not be able to generate these seven men; let us make one man.' So speaking, they made these seven men one man (*purusha*). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two of them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] man [formed one] side; [another] man [another] side; and one formed the base. . . . . 5. This [one] man became Prajāpati. The man who became Prajāpati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven men (*purusha*): for this man is composed of seven men, since four [make] the soul, and three the sides and extremity (*lit.*, tail). For the soul of this man [makes] four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one man, the soul, in consequence of this [excess of] force, controls the sides and extremity, [which are only equal to three]. . . . . 8. This man (*purusha*) Prajāpati desired, 'may I become more, may I be reproduced.' He toiled, he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he first created the Veda (*brahma*), the triple science. It became to him a foundation; hence men say, 'the Veda (*brahma*) is the foundation of all this.' Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a foundation (?), for this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this foundation, he performed austerity. 9. He created the waters from the world [in the form of] speech.[38] Speech belonged to him. It was created. It obtained (pervaded?) all this. Because it *obtained* (*āpnot*) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (*āpaḥ*); and because it *covered* (*avṛiṇot*), it was called *vāḥ* (another name of water). 10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters.' So saying, with this triple science he entered the waters. Thence an egg arose. He pondered on it (?). He said, 'let there be,' 'let there

[38] This is illustrated by a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (617) which says: *vāg vā ajo vācho vai prajā Viśvakarmā jajāna* | "Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarman produced creatures." And in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said: *trayo lokā ete eva* | *vāg evāyaṁ loko mano 'ntarikṣa-lokaḥ prāṇo 'sau lokaḥ* | "It is they which are the three worlds. Speech is this world, mind is the aerial world, and breath is that world (the sky.)"

be,' again, 'let there be.' From it the Veda was first created, the triple science. Hence men say, 'the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Man, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni's mouth."

The same idea about Prajāpati being composed of seven men, occurs again in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1 (p. 767).—*Yān vai tān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan sa Prajāpatir abharat | sa prajā asṛijata | sa prajāḥ sṛishṭvā ūrddhva udakrāmat sa etaṁ lokam agachhad yatra esha etat tapati | no ha tarhy anya etasmād atra yajñiya āsa tam derā yajñenaiva yashṭum adhriyanta | tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyanūktaṁ 'yajñena yajñam ayajanta devā' ityādi |* "These seven men whom they made one man (*purusha*) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where he scorches this. There was then no other object of worship: the gods began to worship him with sacrifices. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), 'the gods worshipped the sacrifice with sacrifice.'" Part of the passage, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.

II. In the preceding legend, the gods are represented as the creators of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, and the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (pp. 831 ff.).—*Āpo ha vā idam agre salilam evāsa*[39] *| tā akāmayanta 'kathaṁ nu prajāyemahi' iti tā aśrāmyaṁs tās tapo 'tapyanta | tāsu tapas tapyamānāsu hiraṇmayam āṇḍaṁ sambabhūva | ājāto ha tarhi saṁvatsara āsa | tad idaṁ hiraṇmayam āṇḍaṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā tāvat paryaplavata | 2. Tataḥ saṁvatsare purushaḥ samabhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ | tasmād u samvatsare eva strī vā gaur vā vaḍabā vā vijāyate saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir ajāyata |*

[39] Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—*Tasyāpa eva pratishṭhā | apsu hi ime lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ |* "Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters." Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (=Bṛihad Araṇyaka Upanishad, p. 974).—*Āpa evedam agre āsuḥ | tā āpaḥ satyam asṛijanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatiṁ Prajāpatir devān |* "In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahmā, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods."

sa idaṁ hiraṇmayám āṇḍaṁ vyarujat | nāha tarhi kāchana pratishṭhā āsa | tad enam idam eva hiraṇmayam āṇḍaṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā āsīt tāvad bibhrat paryaplavata[40] | 3. *Sa saṁvatsare vyājihīrshat | sa 'bhūr' iti vyāharat sā iyam pṛithivy abhavad*[41] *'bhuva' iti tad idam antarixam abhavat 'svar' iti sā asau dyaur abhavat tasmād u saṁvatsare eva kumāro vyājihīrshati sāṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat* | . . . . . 6. *Sa sahasrāyur jajñe | sa yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśyed evam svasyāyushaḥ pāram parā chakhyau* | 7. *So 'rchaṁ chhrāmyaṁs chachāra prajākāmaḥ | sa ātmany eva prajātim adhatta sa āsyenaiva devān asṛijata | te devā divam abhipadya asṛijyanta tad devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad divam abhipadya asṛijyanta | tasmai sasṛijānāya divevāsa*[42] | *tad veva devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad asmai sasṛijānāya divevāsa* | . . . . . 14. *Tā vā etāḥ Prajāpater adhi devatāḥ asṛijyanta Agnir Indraḥ*[43] *Somaḥ Parameshṭhī prājāpatyaḥ* | . . . . 18. *Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abravīd ityādi* |

"In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'how can we be reproduced?' So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. 2. From it in a year a man (*purusha*) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered *bhuḥ*, which became this earth; *bhuvaḥ*, which became this firmament; and *svaḥ*, which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . . 6. He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life, as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring

[40] *Tasya Prajāpater āspadaṁ kimapi na babhūva sa cha nirādhāratvāt sthātum aśaknuvann idam eva bhinnam hiraṇmayāṇḍam punaḥ saṁvatsara-paryantam bibhrad dhārayan tāsv evāpsu paryasravat* | "There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters." Comm.

[41] Compare vol. iii. of this work, p. 68, and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 141.

[42] *Divevāsa* | *ākāśa iva babhūva* | Comm.

[43] In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not mentioned.

offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were created by attaining heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (*devāḥ*) that they were creating by attaining heaven (*divam*). To him while he was continuing to create, heaven, as it were, arose (?). This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to create, heaven, as it were, arose. . . . . 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati, Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshṭhin, son of Prajāpati. . . . . 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra," etc.

In the next passage, Prajāpati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (p. 609).—*Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vā rūpaṁ kṛitvā Prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛijata | yad asṛijata akarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | Kaśyapo vai kūrmas tasmād āhuḥ 'sarvaḥ prajāḥ Kāśyapyā' iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo 'sau sa Ādityaḥ |* "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); hence the word *kūrma*. Kaśyapa means tortoise; hence men say, 'all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa.' This tortoise is the same as Āditya."

In the later mythology it is Vishṇu who assumes the form of a tortoise:

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Vishṇu's incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): *Surāsurāṇām udadhim mathnatām mathanāchalam | dadhre kamaṭha-rūpeṇa pṛishṭhe ekādaśe vibhuḥ |* "In his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were churning the ocean."

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, 37, 5, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 14, 1, 2, 11 (p. 1025) makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: "*Iyaty agre āsīd* (Vāj. S. 37, 5) *iti | iyatī ha vā iyam agre pṛithivy āsa prādeśa-mātrī | tām Emūsha iti varāha*[44] *ujjaghāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatis tenaiva enam etan-mithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā*[45] *samardhayati kṛitsnaṁ karoti ityādi |*

"'She (the earth) was formerly so large,' etc.; for formerly this earth

[44] See R.V. viii. 66, 10.

[45] In regard to these words compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3, 9, 4, 20.

was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him (the boar?) with love (?) and the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc.

I quote some further texts from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa relative to Prajāpati.

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, pp. 19, 22).

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 1 (p. 151).—*Prajāpatir ha vā idam agre eka evāsa | sa aikṣata 'kathaṁ nu prajāyeya' iti so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayāñchakre ityādi* | "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth."

In the next passage he is identified with Daxa:[46]

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1 (p. 173).—*Prajāpatir ha vā etenāgre yajñeneje prajākāmo 'bahuḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ syāṁ śriyaṁ gachheyaṁ yaśaḥ syām annādaḥ syām' iti | sa vai Daxo nāma ityādi* | "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Daxa."

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14 (p. 565) Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Vishṇu): *Prajāpatir vai bharataḥ sa hīdaṁ sarvam bibhartti* | "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe."[47]

Compare the first verse of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, where Brahmā is called the preserver of the world (*bhuvanasya goptā*).

In the next passage Prajāpati is represented as desirous, not to create, but to conquer, the worlds:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1 (p. 977).—*Prajāpatir akāmayata*

[46] See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above pp. 10, 11).

[47] In R. V. i. 96, 3, the epithet *Bharata* is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, *esha prāṇo bhūtvā prajā bibhartti tasmād esha bharataḥ* | "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer."

'ubhau lokāv abhijayeyaṁ devalokaṁcha manushya-lokaṁcha' ityādi | "Prajāpati desired, 'may I conquer both worlds,' that of the gods, and that of men," etc.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 6, 1 (p. 997) Purusha Nārāyaṇa is introduced: *Purusho ha Nārāyaṇo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭheyaṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāny aham eva idaṁ sarvaṁ syām' iti* | *sa etam purusha-medham pañcha-rātraṁ yajñakratum apaśyat tam āhara: tena ayajata tena ishṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam abhavat* | *atitishṭhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān purusha-medhena yajate yo vā etad evaṁ veda* |

"Purusha Nārāyaṇa desired, 'may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?' He beheld this form of sacrifice called *purusha medha* (human sacrifice) lasting five nights (?). He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the *purusha medha*,—he who so knows this." The Purusha-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 1 (p. 838) Brahma (n. the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: *Brahma vā idam agro āsīt* | *tad devān asṛijata* | *tad devān sṛishṭvā eshu lokeshu vyārohayad asmimn eva loko 'gniṁ Vāyum antarixe divy eva sūryam* | "In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Sūrya in the sky."

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1 (p. 1000) Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: *Brahma vai svayambhu tapo 'tapyata* | *tad aixata 'na vai tapasy ānantyam asti hanta aham bhūteshv ātmānaṁ juhavāni bhutāni cha ātmani' iti* | *tat sarveshu bhūteshv ātmānaṁ hutvā bhūtāni cha ātmani sarveshām bhūtānāṁ śraishṭhyaṁ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryait* | *tathaiva etad yajamānaḥ sarvamedhe sarvān medhān hutvā sarvāṇi bhūtāni śraishṭhyaṁ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryeti* | "The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, 'in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.' Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91),

Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the *śarvamedha* (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion." [48]

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 ff., founded, no doubt, on the passages of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, given above (pp. 19, 21, 22), or some other ancient source of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines:

Āsīd idaṁ tamobhūtam aprajñātam alaxaṇam | apratarkyam avijñeyam prasuptam iva sarvataḥ | 6. Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān avyakto vyañjayann idam | mahābhūtādi vṛittaujāḥ prādurāsīt tamonudaḥ | 7. Yo 'sāv atīndriya-grāhyaḥ sūxmo 'vyaktaḥ sanātanaḥ | sarva-bhūtamayo 'chintyaḥ sa eva svayam udbabhau | 8. So 'bhidhyāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛixur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva sasarjjādau tāsu vījam avāsṛijat | 9. Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimaṁ sahasrāṁśu-samaprabham | tasmiñ jajñe svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | 10. Āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | tā yad asyāyanam pūrvaṁ tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | 11. Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktaṁ nityaṁ sadasadātmakam | tad-visṛishṭaḥ sa purusho loke Brahmeti kīrtyate | 12. Tasminn aṇḍe sa bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akarod dvidhā | 13. tābhyāṁ sa śakalābhyāñcha divam bhūmiñcha nirmame ityādi |

5. "This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undistinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtile, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He desiring to produce various creatures from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmā,[49] the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *nārā*, because they are the offspring of Nara; and

[48] See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 7–9).

[49] Or, in which Brahmā himself was born, etc.

since they were formerly his receptacle, he is therefore called Nārāyaṇa. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (*purusha*) is known in the world as Brahmā. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters."

It will be observed from verses 9-11, that the appellation *Nārāyaṇa* is applied to *Brahmā*, and that no mention is made of Vishṇu.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: '*Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimam*' *iti* | *tad vījam Parameśvarechchhayā haiman aṇḍam abhavad haimam iva haimaṁ śuddhi-guṇa-yogād na tu haimam eva* | *tadīyaika-śakalena bhūmi-nirmāṇasya vaxyamāṇatvād bhūmeśchāhaimatrasya pratyaxatvād upachārāśrayaṇam* | . . . . . *tasminn aṇḍe Hiraṇyagarbho jātavān yena pūrva-janmani* '*Hiraṇyagarbho 'ham asmi*' *iti bhedābheda-bhāvanayā Parameśvaropāsanā kṛitā tadīyaṁ liṅga-śarīrāvachchhinna-jīvam anupraviśya svayam Paramātmaiva Hiraṇyagarbha-rūpatayā prādurbhūtaḥ* | "'That [seed] became a golden egg,' etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, *i.e.* as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halves of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here employed. . . . . In that egg Hiraṇyagarbha was produced; i.e. entering into the soul,—which was invested with a subtile body,—of that person by whom in a former birth the deity was worshipped, with a contemplation on distinctness and identity, expressed in the words, 'I am Hiraṇyagarbha,' the supreme spirit himself became manifested in the form of Hiraṇyagarbha."

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the Harivaṁśa, vv. 35 ff.: *Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān sisṛixur vividhāḥ prajāḥ* | *apa eva sasarjjādau tāsu vījam avāsṛijat* | *āpo nāra iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ* | *ayanaṁ tasya tāḥ pūrvaṁ tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ* | *hiraṇyavarṇam abhavat tad aṇḍam udakeśayam* | *tatra jajñe svayam Brahmā svayambhūr iti naḥ śrutam* | *Hiraṇyagarbho bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram* | *tad*

aṇḍam akarod dvaidhaṁ divam bhuvam athāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayor madhye ākāśam asṛijat prabhuḥ | apsu pāriplavāṁ pṛithvīm diśaścha daśadhā dadhe |

"Then the self-existent lord, desiring to produce various creatures, first of all formed the waters, and deposited in them a seed. The waters are called *nārā*, for they are the offspring of Nara. They were formerly his receptacle; hence he is called *nārāyaṇa*. That seed became a golden-coloured egg, reposing on the water: in it the self-existent Brahmā himself was born, [or, in it he himself was born as the self-existent Brahmā], as we have heard. The divine Hiraṇyagarbha having dwelt [in the egg] a year, divided it into two parts, heaven and earth. In the midst between these two shells, the Lord created the æther, and the earth floating about on the waters, and placed the regions in ten directions."

In a later part of the same work we find another account of the production of Hiraṇyagarbha:

Harivaṁśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—*Jagat-sraṣṭu-manā devaś chintayāmāsa pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād niḥsṛitaḥ purushaḥ kila | tataḥ sa purusho devaṁ kiṁ karomīty upashthitaḥ | pratyuvācha smitaṁ kṛitvā deva-devo jagat-patiḥ | 'vibhajātmānam' ityuktvā gato 'ntardhānam īśvaraḥ | antarhitasya devasya saśarīrasya bhāsvataḥ | pradīpasyeva śāntasya gatis tasya na vidyate | tatas teneritāṁ vāṇīṁ so 'nvachintayata prabhuḥ | "Hiraṇyagarbho bhagavān ya esha chhandasā stutaḥ | ekaḥ prajāpatiḥ pūrvam abhavad bhuvanādhipaḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti tasyādyo yajña-bhāgo vidhīyate | 'vibhajātmānam' ity uktas tenāsmi sumahātmanā | katham ātmā vibhajyaḥ syāt saṁśayo hy atra me mahān" |*

"Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (*purusha*) issued from his mouth. This man then approached [or adored] the deity, [saying] 'what am I to do?' The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, 'divide thyself.' Having thus spoken the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: 'This divine Hiraṇyagarbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. *Divide thyself*,—thus have I been

commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.'" Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 10, to which I refer.

The Rāmāyaṇa, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore edition), thus describes the origin of the world:

Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff.—*Imāṁ loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt pṛithivī yatra nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha | 4. Su varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām | asṛijacheha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ | 5. Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam avyayaḥ | tasmād Marīchiḥ saṁjajñe Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ | 6. Vivasvān Kaśyapāj jajñe Manur Vivasvataḥ smṛitaḥ | sa tu Prajāpatiḥ pūrvam ityādi |*

Vaśishtha says, "Lord of the world, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities.* 4. He then, becoming a boar,[50] raised up the earth, and created the whole world *with the saints, his sons.* 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the æther; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat's son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati," etc.

It will be observed that here it is Brahmā who assumes the form of a boar to raise up the earth from under the ocean. In the *Gauḍa* recension of Gorresio, however, this function is transferred to Vishṇu; and this I regard as a proof that this recension of the text is more modern than that followed by Schlegel. I have indicated by italics in my translations, the important points in which the two recensions differ from one another.

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's ed.), ii. 119, 2 ff.—*Imām loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt vasudhā yena nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayaḥ | 4. Sa varāho*

[50] Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, quoted above, p. 23.

'tha bhūtvemām ujjahāra vasundharām | asṛijachcha jagat sarvam sacharācharam avyayam | 5. Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam avyayaḥ | tasmād Marīchiḥ sañjajñe Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ | 6. Tataḥ paryāya-sargeṇa Vivasvān asṛijad Manum ityādi |

"Lord of the world, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, through which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishṇu*. 4. He then, becoming a boar, raised up this earth, and created the whole world, *moveable and immoveable, imperishable*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the æther; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. By successive creation, Vivasvat created Manu," etc.

It will be noticed that at the end of the 3rd śloka, the reading of the first recension, viz., *Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*," is, in the second, changed into *Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayaḥ*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishṇu*," whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Vishṇu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel's recension, at the close of the 4th śloka, viz., *saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ*, "with the saints, his sons," are in the other recension altered into *sacharācharam avyayam*, "moveable and immoveable, and imperishable"—epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Vishṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Vishṇu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is. Compare with the 5th verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel's text), the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff.; and i. 7, 26, quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 25, 26. The accounts of Brahmā's descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Manu, i. 32 ff., and Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 15 and 25 of Part First.

Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahma, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show

how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, to Brahmā, is in works of a later date, represented as the act of Vishṇu. The first passage is from the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Vishṇu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7: *Dvitīyaṁ tu bhavāyāsya rasā-tala-gatām mahīm | uddharishyann upādatta yajñeśaḥ saukaraṁ vapuḥ |* "Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar."

The second passage to be adduced, is from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 27 ff. of Wilson's English trans.), and has been already partly quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 19, 20:

Maitreya uvācha | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyo 'sau kalpādau bhagavān yathā | sasarjja sarva-bhūtāni tad āchaxva mahāmune[51] *| Parāśara uvācha | prajāḥ sasarjja bhagavān Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakaḥ | pr ajapati-patir devo yathā tan me niśāmaya | atīta-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptotthitaḥ prabhuḥ | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokam avaixata | Nārā-yaṇaḥ paro 'chintyaḥ pareshām api sa prabhuḥ | Brahma-svarupī bhaga-vān anādiḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | toyāntaḥ sa mahīm jñātvā jagaty ekārṇave prabhuḥ | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | akarot sa tanūm anyām kalpādishu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādikāṁ tadvad vārāhaṁ vapur āshthitaḥ | veda-yajñamayaṁ rūpam aśesha-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitaḥ sthirātmā sarvātmā paramātmā Prajāpatiḥ | janaloka-gataiḥ siddhaiḥ Sanakādyair abhishṭutaḥ | praviveśa tada toyam ātmā-dhāro dharādharaḥ | nirīxya taṁ tadā devī pātāla-talam āgatam | tushṭāva praṇatā bhūtvā bhakti-namrā vasundharā | Pṛithvy uvācha | Namas te*

[51] I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 21 of Wilson's trans.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahmā should create;—an answer which if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. *Maitreya uvācha | nirguṇasyāprameyasya śuddhasyāpyamalatmanaḥ | kathaṁ sargādi-karttṛitvam Brāhmaṇo 'bhyupapadyate | Parāśara uvācha | śaktayaḥ sarva-bhāvānām achintyā* [?] *jñāna-gocharāḥ | yato 'to Brahmaṇas tāstu sargādyā bhāva-śaktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ śreshṭha pāvakasya yathoshṇatā |* "Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc., be possible to Brahma, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stain? Parāśara answers: Since powers which could not be imagined, are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, o chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahmā, as heat is an attribute of fire."

sarva-bhūtāya tubhyaṁ śankha-gadā-dhara | mām uddharāsmād adya tvaṁ tratto 'ham pūrvam utthitā | . . . . . sambhaxayitvā sakalaṁ jagaty ekārṇavīkṛite | śesho tvam eva Govinda chintyamāno manīshibhiḥ | bhavato yat paraṁ rūpaṁ tanna jānāti kaschana | avatāreshu yad rūpaṁ tad archanti divaukasaḥ | trām ārādhya paraṁ Brahma yātā muktim mumuxavaḥ | Vāsudevam anārādhya ko moxaṁ samavāpsyati | . . . . tvaṁ yajñas tvaṁ vashaṭkāras tvam oṁkāras tvam agnayaḥ | . . . . . Evaṁ samstūyamānastu Pṛithivyā pṛithivī-dharaḥ | sāma-svara-dhvaniḥ śrīmān jagarjja parighurgharam | tataḥ samutxipya dharāṁ sa daṁshṭrayā mahāvarāhaḥ sphuṭa-padma-lochanaḥ | rasātalād utpala-pātra-sannibhaḥ samutthito nīla ivāchalo mahān | . . . evaṁ samstūyamānastu Paramātmā mahīdharaḥ | ujjahāra mahīṁ xipraṁ nyastavāṁścha mahāmbhasi | tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | vitatatvāt tu dehasya na mahī yāti samplavam |

"Maitreya said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatis, who was formed of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity without beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu i. 10, and the Harivanśa, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another form, taking the body of a boar consisting of the Vedic sacrifices, as he had before, at the commencement of the [previous] Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. Then Prajāpati, residing in the entire existing universe, the unchanging, supreme, and universal soul, sustainer of soul, and supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, reverential, and prostrated through devotion, sang his praise: 'Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things: raise me to-day from this place: by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one

ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form: the gods adore that form which [thou takest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? . . . . . Thou art sacrifice, thou art the *vashaṭkāra* (a sacrificial formula), thou art the *oṁkāra*, thou art the fires. . . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain . . . . [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to different parts of the rite of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 31.] . . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk." [52]

[52] Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishṇu in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaparva, 12, 797 ff. (see the Second Part of this work, pp. 329-332); towards the conclusion of which, vv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: *Athābravīd animishas tān ṛishīn sa hitas tada | aham Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-paraṁ nādhigamyate | matsya-rūpeṇa yūyañcha mayā 'smād mokṣitā bhayāt* | "Then the god (*lit.* the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those ṛishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no Being is discoverable: by me in the form of a fish you have been delivered from this danger.'" Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur., (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.). Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: *Ity ukto Vishṇurātena bhagavān Vādarāyaṇiḥ | uvācha charitaṁ Vishṇor matsya-rūpeṇa yat kṛitam | Śuka uvācha | . . . . . 7. āsīd atīta-kalpānte Brāhmo naimittiko layaḥ | samudropaplutās tatra lokā bhūrādayo nṛipa | 8. Kālenāgata-nidrasya dhātuḥ śiśayishor balī | mukhato niḥsṛitān vedān Hayagrīvo 'ntike 'harat | 9. Jñātvā tad dānavendrasya Hayagrīvasya cheshṭitam | dadhāra sapharīrūpam bhagavān Harir īśvara ityādi* | "Being thus addressed by Vishnurāta, the divine Vādarāyaṇi related the deed of Vishṇu done by him under the form of a fish. Śuka said . . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a *Brāhma*, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson's Vish. Pur., pp. 56, and 630); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who, from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this act of Hayagrīva, chief of the Dānavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a sapharī fish," etc.

The Linga Purāna, which is of the Śaiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Vishṇu, describes Brahmā as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: *Rātrau chaikārṇave Brahmā nashṭe sthāvara-jaṅgame | sushvāpāmbhasi yas tasmād Nārāyaṇa iti smṛitaḥ | śarvary-ante prabuddho vai dṛishṭvā śūnyaṁ charācharam | srashṭuṁ tadā matiṁ chakre Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | udakair āplutām xmāṁ tāṁ samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpayāmāsa vārāhaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ |* "In the night, when all things moveable and immoveable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brahmā, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before."

To return to the mundane egg. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the intermixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sānkhya philosophy. In fact, though it forms the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Purāṇas, would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with their philosophical speculations: *Ākāśa-vāyu-tejāṁsi salilam pṛithivī tathā | śabdādibhir guṇair brahman saṁyuktāny uttarottaraiḥ | śāntā ghorāścha mūḍhāścha viśeshās tena te smṛitāḥ | nānā-vīryyāḥ pṛithag-bhūtās tatas te saṁhatiṁ vinā | nāśaknuvan prajāḥ srashṭum asamāgamya kṛitsnaśaḥ | sametyānyonya-saṁyogam paraspara-samāśrayāḥ | eka-saṅghāta-laxyāścha samprāpyaikyam aśeshataḥ | Purushādhishṭhitatvāchchha Pradhānānugraheṇa cha | mahadādayo viśeshāntā aṇḍam utpādayanti te | tat krameṇa vivṛidhhaṁ tu jala-budbuda-vat samam | bhūtebhyo 'ṇḍam mahābuddhe vṛihat tad udake śayam | prākṛitam Brahma-rūpasya Vishṇoḥ saṁsthānam uttamam | tatrāvyakta-svarūpo 'sau vyakta-rūpī jagat-patiḥ | Vishṇur Brahma-svarūpeṇa svayam eva vyavasthitaḥ | Meru-tulyam abhūt tasya jarāyuścha mahīdharāḥ |*

garbhodakaṁ samudrāścha tasyāsan sumahātmanaḥ | sādri-dvīpa-samudraścha sajyotir loka-saṇgrahaḥ | tasminn aṇḍe 'bhavad vipra sa-devāsura-mānushaḥ | vāri-vahny-anilākāśais tato bhūtādinā vahiḥ | vṛitaṁ daśa-guṇair aṇḍam bhūtādir mahatā tathā | avyaktenāvṛito brahmaṁs taiḥ sarvaiḥ sahito mahān | ebhir āvaraṇair aṇḍaṁ saptabhiḥ prākṛitair vṛitam | nārikela-phalasyāntar vījaṁ vāhyadalair iva | jushan rajo-guṇaṁ tatra svayaṁ viśveśvaro Hariḥ | Brahmā bhūtvā 'sya jagato visṛishṭau sampravarttate |

"Æther, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying,[63] but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, becoming associated with each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an entire unity,—being presided over by Purusha (spirit) and prospered by Pradhāna (matter),—these principles, commencing with Mahat (intellect), and down to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Vishṇu in the form of Brahmā. There undiscernible in his essence, Vishṇu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Meru; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, o Brahmān, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, æther, and the source of the elements (*bhūtādi*, i.e. *ahankāra*) increasing in tenfold progression; and in the same way *ahankāra* was invested by *Mahat;* and Mahat with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiscreet principle (*Pradhāna*). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (*rajas*) Hari, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world."

[63] See Wilson's Sankhya Karikā, pp. 119 ff., and Vishṇu Pur., p. 17.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided; etc. etc.

The Linga Purāṇa, Part i., 3, 28 ff., gives a similar description of the egg: *Mahadādi-viśeshāntā hy aṇḍam utpādayanti cha | jala-budbuda-vat tasmāt avatīrṇaḥ Pitāmahaḥ | sa eva bhagavān Rudro Vishṇur viśvagataḥ prabhuḥ | tasminn aṇḍe tv ime lokā antar viśvam idaṁ jagat | aṇḍaṁ daśa-guṇenaiva nabhasā vāhyato vṛitam | ākāśaś chāvṛitas tadvad ahaṇkāreṇa śabdajaḥ | mahatā śabda-hetur vai pradhānenāvṛitaḥ svayam | saptāṇḍāvaraṇāny āhus tasyātmā Kamalāsanaḥ | koṭi-koṭy-ayutāny atra chāṇḍāni kathitāni tu | tatra tatra chaturvaktrā Brahmāṇo Harayo Bhavāḥ | sṛishṭāḥ pradhānena tadā labdhvā Sambhostu sannidhim ityādi |*

"And these principles, from Mahat to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg, like a bubble of water, from which issued the Parent [of the universe] who was the same as divine Rudra, and Vishṇu, the omnipresent lord. Within that egg were these worlds,—this entire universe. The egg was externally invested with a tenfold æther; in like manner, the æther, sprung from sound, was surrounded by *ahaṇkāra;* the cause of sound (*ahaṇkāra*) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradhāna. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is Kamalāsana (Brahmā). Here ten thousand crores of crores of eggs are specified, in which four-faced Brahmās, Haris, and Bhavas (Śivas) were created by Pradhāna, which had attained to proximity with Śambhu (Śiva).

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has the following passage on the same subject in the third Book, in answer to an enquiry how the Prajāpatis created the world:

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 20, 12 ff.—*Maitreya evācha | Daivena durvitarkyeṇa pareṇānimishena cha | jātaxobhād bhagavato mahān asīd guṇa-trayāt |* 13. *Rajaḥ-pradhānād mahatas trilingo daiva-choditāt | jātaḥ sasarjja bhūtādir viyadādīni panchaśaḥ |* 14. *Tāni chaikaikaśaḥ srashṭum asamarthāni bhautikam | saṁhatya daiva-yogena haimam aṇḍam avāsṛijan |* 15. *So 'śayishṭābdhi-salile aṇḍa-kosho nirātmakaḥ | sāgraṁ vai varshasāhasram anvavātsīt tam īśvaraḥ |* 16. *Tasya nābher abhūt padmaṁ sahasrārkorudīdhiti | sarva-jīva-nikāyauko yatra svayam abhūt Svarāṭ |* 17. *so 'nuvishṭo bhagavatā yaḥ śete salilāśaye | loka-saṁsthāṁ yathāpūrvaṁ nirmame saṁsthayā svayā |*

"Maitreya said:

12. "The Great principle (Intelligence) arose from the three qualities

agitated by the Divine Being in consequence of an inscrutable destiny, supreme, and ever wakeful. 13. Springing from the Great principle (in which the quality of passion prevailed, and which was impelled by destiny), the source of the elements (*bhūtādi* or *ahankāra*) created the æther and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean: the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where *Svarāṭ* (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposes on the receptacle of waters, constructed as before, the substance (*saṁsthā*) of the worlds with his own substance."

The same ideas are repeated in a later chapter of the same book:

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 26, 50 ff.: *Etāny asaṁhatya yadā mahad-ādīni saptа vai | kāla-karma-guṇopeto jagadādir upāviśat | 51. tatas tenānuviddhebhyo [xubhitebhyaḥ, Comm.] yuktebhyo 'ṇḍam acheṭanam | utthitam Puruśho yasmād udatishṭhad asau Virāṭ | 52. Etad aṇḍam viśeshākhyam krama-vṛiddhair daśottaraiḥ | toyādibhiḥ parivṛitam pradhānenāvṛitair vahiḥ | yatra loka-vitāno 'yaṁ rūpam bhagavato Hareḥ | 53. hiraṇmayād aṇḍa-koshād utthāya salile śayāt | tam āviśya mahādevo bahudhā nirbibheda kham [chhidram, Comm.] 54. nirabhidyatāsya prathamam mukhaṁ vāṇī tato 'bhavad ityādi |*

50. "When these seven principles, *Mahat* and the rest, remained uncombined, the [god who is the] source of the universe entered into them, united with time, action, and the qualities. 51. Then out of these principles penetrated by him, and combined, there arose a lifeless egg, from which sprang Purusha, viz., that Virāṭ. 52. This egg, named *Viśesha* (the *specific*) was surrounded by water, and other elements gradually increasing in extent by a tenfold progression, which in their turn were externally invested by *Pradhāna*. In this egg [was formed] this expanse of worlds, which is the form of the divine Hari. 53. Having arisen out of the envelopment of this golden egg reposing upon the water, the great god, pervading it, opened up many apertures. 54. First his mouth was divided, from which speech issued," etc.

The same process is also described in the second book of the same

Purāṇa, sect. 5, 32 ff.; but it is unnecessary to adduce more than a verse or two of the passage.

34. *Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-stho jīvo 'jīvam ajīvayat |* 35. *sa eva purushas tasmād aṇḍaṁ nirbhidya nirgataḥ | sahasrorv-aṅghri-bāhv-axaḥ sahasrānana-śīrshavān |*

34. "At the end of many thousand years, the Life (Jīva) residing in time, action, and nature, gave life to that lifeless egg reposing on the water. 35. Splitting the egg, Purusha issued forth with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads."

The same subject is yet again referred to in another text of the same work.

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: *Purusho 'ṇḍaṁ vinirbhidya yadādau sa vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam anvichhann apo 'srāxīch chhuchīḥ śuchīḥ | tāsv avātsīt svasṛishṭāsu sahasra-parivatsarān | tena Nārāyaṇo nāma yad āpaḥ purushodbhavāḥ |*

10. "When, splitting the egg, Purusha first issued from it, seeking a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure. 11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nārāyaṇa, because the waters were produced from Purusha."

The story about the sexual intercourse of Brahmā with his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purāṇas, is thus noticed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4, 1 ff.—*Prajāpatir ha vai svāṁ duhitaram abhidadhyau divaṁ vā ushasaṁ vā 'mithuny enayā syām' iti taṁ sambabhūva | 2. Tad vai devānām āga āsa 'ya itthaṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti' iti | 3. Te ha devā ūchur 'yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām īshṭe 'tisandhaṁ vā ayaṁ charati ya itthaṁ svāṁ duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti vidhyetnam' iti | taṁ Rudro 'bhyāyatya vivyādhā tasya sāmi retaḥ prachaskanda tathā id nūnaṁ tad āsa | 4. Tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyanūktam 'pitā yat svām duhitaram adhishkan xmayā retaḥ saṅjagmāno nishiñchad' iti tad āgni-mārutam ity ukthaṁ tasmiṁs tad vyākhyāyate yathā tad devā retaḥ prājanayan | teshāṁ yadā devānāṁ krodho vyaid atha Prajāpatim abhishajyaṁs tasya taṁ śalpaṁ nirakṛintan | sa vai yajña eva Prajāpatiḥ |*

"Prajāpati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, either the Sky, or the Dawn, [desiring] 'May I pair with her.' So [saying] he had intercourse with her. 2. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said: '[He is guilty] who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister.' 3. The gods said: 'This god who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.' Rudra assailed (?) and pierced him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. So it happened. 3. Accordingly this has been said by the ṛishi (R. V. x. 61, 7), 'when the father approaching his daughter, uniting with the earth, discharged his seed,' etc. This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow (?). Prajāpati is sacrifice."

The following is the context of the passage of the Rig-veda referred to in the preceding legend. It is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sâyana's Comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The commentator regards verses 5–7 as intended to show how "Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself:" (*Yathā svaṁśena bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatiṁ Rudram asṛijat tad etad-ādibhir tisṛibhir vadati.*)

R. V. x. 61, 4: *Krishṉā yad goshu aruṉīshu sīdad divo napāta Aśvinā huve vām | vītam me yajñam āgatam me annaṁ vavanvāṁsā na isham asmṛita dhrū | 5. Prathishṭa yasya vīrakarmam ishṉad anushṭhitaṁ nu naryyo apauhat | punas tad āvṛihati yat kanāyā duhitur ā anubhṛitam anarvā | 6. Madhyā yat kartvam abhavad abhīke kāmaṁ kṛiṉvāne pitari yuvatyām | manānag reto jahatur viyantā sānau nishiktaṁ sukṛitasya yonau | 7. Pitā yat svāṁ duhitaram adhishkan xmayā retaḥ sañjagmāno nishiñchat | svādhyo ajanayan brahma devā vāstoshpatiṁ vratapāṁ nirataxan |*

"When the night stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, sons of the sky. Come to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, desiring it as food, ye who do not disappoint my longings.[54] 5. That friend of men, whose prolific, hero-generating

[54] Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to *asmṛita-dhrū*. Sāyaṇa renders it, *asmṛita-drohau mayi drohaṁ asmarantau* | "not forgetting injury—not forgetting injury to me."

[seed] was diffused, disseminated it far and wide, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god] expands that [germ] which had been fostered in [the womb of] his youthful daughter. 6. [They then did] that which was to be done by contact in the midst, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—approaching each other, they discharged a little seed, which was shed on the surface of the place of sacrifice. 7. When the father, impregnating his own daughter, uniting with the earth, discharged his seed, the contemplative gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites."

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: *Vāchaṁ duhitaraṁ tanvīṁ Svayambhūr haratīm manaḥ | akāmāṁ chakame xattaḥ sakāma iti naḥ śrutam | 29. tam adharme kṛita-matim vilokya pitaraṁ sutāḥ | Marīchi-mukhyā munayo viśrambhāt pratyabodhayan | 30. Naitat pūrvaiḥ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare | yas tvaṁ duhitaraṁ gachher anigṛihyāṅgajam prabhuḥ | 31. tejīyasām api hy etad na suślokyaṁ jagadguro | yad vṛittam anutishṭhan vai lokaḥ xemāya kalpate | 32. tasmai namo bhagavate ya idaṁ svena rochishā | ātmasthaṁ vyañjayāmāsa sa dharmam pātum arhati | 33. Sa itthaṁ gṛiṇataḥ putrān puro dṛishṭvā prajāpatīn | prajāpati-patis tanvaṁ tatyāja vrīḍitas tadā | tāṁ diśo jagṛihur ghorāṁ nīhāraṁ yad vidus tamaḥ |*

"We have heard, o Kshattriya, that Svayambhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marīchi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: 'This has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, o preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishṇu) who by his own lustre revealed this [universe] which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness.' Seeing his sons, the Prajāpatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajāpatis (Brahmā) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness."

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the

passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): *dvidhā kṛitvā "tmano dehaṁ arddhena purusho 'bhavat | arddhena nārī tasyāṁ sa Virājam asṛijat prabhuḥ |* "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)[55] Virāj." Compare also the passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 12 ff. quoted in the First Part of this work, p. 25.[56] On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Mandala of the Rig-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the 3rd Vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332–337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Aśvins, Indra, Varuṇa, and Krishṇa, are described.—See the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 150, the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, v. 10, 316 ff. Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṇa i. 48, 16 ff., Schlegel's ed.; and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the First Part of this work, pp. 70, 165 (with Note 9), and 166. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods.[57] In the case of Krishṇa the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded

[55] *Maithuna-dharmeṇa Virāṭ-saṁjñam purusham nirmitavān* |

[56] "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā's intercourse with Śatarūpā; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Sāvitrī, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: *Veda-rūpiṇi smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhitā | tasmānna kaśchid doshaḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ |* "—Wilson's Vishṇu Pur. p. 53, note.

[57] Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dalliance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Ahalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 529 f.

among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.

Bhāg. Pur., x. 33, 27 ff.—*Rājā uvācha | saṁsthāpanāya dharmasya praśamāyetarasya cha | avatīrṇo hi bhavagān aṁśena jagadīśvaraḥ | 28. Sa kathaṁ dharma-setūnāṁ vaktā karttā 'bhiraxitā | pratīpam ācharad brahman paradārābhimarśanam | 29. Āptakamo Yadu-patiḥ kṛitavān vai jugupsitam | kimabhiprāya etaṁ naḥ saṁśayaṁ chhindhi suvrata | Śrī-Śuka uvācha | 30. Dharma-vyatikramo dṛishṭa īśvarāṇāñcha sāhasam | tejīyasāṁ na doshāya vahneḥ sarvabhujo yathā | 31. Naitat samācharej jātu manasā 'pi hy anīśvaraḥ | vinaśyaty ācharan maudhyād yathā 'rudro 'bdhijaṁ visham | 32. Īśvarāṇāṁ vachaḥ satyaṁ tathaivācharitaṁ kvachit | teshāṁ yat sva-vacho yuktam buddhimāṁs tat samācharet | 33. Kuśalācharitenaishām iha svārtho na vidyate | viparyyayena vā 'nartho nirahaṅkāriṇām prabho | 34. Kimutākhila-sattvānāṁ tiryaṇ-marttya-divaukasām | īśituś cheśitavyānāṁ kuśalākuśalānvayaḥ | 35. Yat pāda-paṅkaja-parāga-nisheva-tṛiptā yoga-prabhāva-vidhutākhila-karma-bandhāḥ | svairaṁ charanti munayo 'pi na nahyamānās tasyechchhayā 'tta-vapushaḥ kuta eva bandhaḥ | 36. Gopīnāṁ tat-patīnāñcha sarveshām eva dehinām | yo 'ntaś charati so 'dhyaxaḥ krīḍanenecha deha-bhāk | 37. Anugrahāya bhūtānām mānushaṁ deham āśritaḥ | bhajate tādṛiśīḥ krīḍāḥ yāḥ śrutvā tat-paro bhavet | 38. Nāsūyan khalu Kṛishṇāya mohitās tasya māyayā | manyamānāḥ sva-parśvasthān svān svān dārān Vrajaukasaḥ | 39. Brahma-rāttre upāvṛitte Vāsudevānumoditāḥ | anichchhantyo yayur gopyaḥ sva-gṛihān bhagavat-priyāḥ*[68] |

"The king said: 27. The divine lord of the world became partially incarnate for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the corruption of other men's wives? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Krishna) perpetrate what was blameable? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Suka said: 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to

[68] This passage is partly quoted in my Mata-parīkshā, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjea's Dialogues, p. 383 f.

fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: anyone who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean.[59] 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, o king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, why should there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the *gopīs* (milkmen's wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their superintendent, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he practises sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vraja harboured no ill-will to Krishna, since, deluded by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the *gopīs*, beloved and gladdened by Krishna, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

This passage is followed by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purāṇa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Krishṇa's sports with the cowherds' wives, or who repeats it to others, shall attain strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart.

I quote the remarks of the commentator, Srīdhara Svāmin, on verses 30 ff. of this passage: 30. *Parameśvare kaimutika-nyāyena parihartuṁ sāmānyato mahatāṁ vṛittam āha 'dharmavyatikrama' iti | sāhasañcha dṛishṭam Prajāpatīndra-Soma-Viśvāmittrādīnāṁ tachcha teshāṁ*

[59] This refers to the poison drunk by Siva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṇa i. 45, 26, Ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78.

tejasvināṁ doshāya na bhavatīti | 31. *Tarhi 'yad yad ācharati śreshthaḥ' iti nyāyenānyo 'pi kuryād ity āśaṅkyāha 'naitad' iti* | *anīśvaro dehādi-para-tantro yathā Rudra-vyatirikto visham ācharan bhaxayan* | 32. *Kathaṁ tarhi sadāchārasya prāmāṇyam ata āha 'īśvarāṇām' iti* | *teshām vachaḥ satyam atas tad-uktam āchared eva* | *ācharitaṁ kvachit satyam ataḥ 'sva-vācho yuktaṁ' teshāṁ vachasā yad uktam aviruddhaṁ tat tad evācharet* | 33. *Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim evaṁ sāhasam ācharanti tatrāha 'kusale'ti* | *prārabdha-karma-xapaṇa-mātram eva teshāṁ kṛityaṁ na anyad ity arthaḥ* | 34. *Prastutam āha 'kimuta' iti* | *kuśalākuśalānvayo na vidyate iti kim punar vaktavyam ity arthaḥ* | 35. *Etad eva sphuṭīkaroti* | *yasya pāda-paṅkaja-parāgasya nishevaṇena tṛiptā yadvā yasya pāda-paṅkaja-parāge nishevā yeshāṁ te tathā te cha te tṛiptāścha iti bhaktā ity arthaḥ* | *tathā jñāninaś cha na nahyamānā bandhanam aprāpnuvantaḥ* | *para-dāratvaṁ gopīnām aṅgīkṛitya parihṛitam* | 36. *Idānīm bhagavataḥ sarvāntaryāmiṇaḥ para-dāra-sevā nāma na kāchid ity āha 'gopīnām' iti* | *yo 'ntaś charaty adhyaxo buddhy-ādi-sāxī sa eva krīḍanena dehabhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doshaḥ syād iti* | 37. *Nanv evaṁ ched āptakāmasya nindite kutaḥ pravṛittir ity āha 'anugrahāya' iti* | *śṛiṅgāra-rasākṛishṭa-chetaso 'ti-bahir-mukhān api sva-parān karttum iti bhāvaḥ* | 38. *Nanv anye 'pi bhinnāchārāḥ sva-cheshṭitam evam eva iti vadanti tatrāha 'nāsūyann' iti* | *evambhūtaiśvaryyābhāve tathā kurvantaḥ pāpā jñeyā iti bhāvaḥ* |

"In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the *à fortiori* argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words 'the transgression,' etc. The 'daring acts witnessed,' etc., i.e. of Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvāmittra, and others; and it is not to be charged to them as a fault. 31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning 'whatever an eminent person does,'[60] etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says 'Let no one do the same,' etc.; 'no one other than a superior being,' i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; 'as anyone separate from Rudra using,' swallowing 'poison.' 32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, 'of superior beings,' etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is sometimes true [cor-

[60] This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.

rect]: therefore, let 'their correct words,' viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed. 33. In answer to the question whether these superior beings also thus practise 'daring acts,' he states, in the words 'good deeds,' etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify the consequences of their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation]. 34. He arrives at his main subject in the words 'how much less,' etc.: i.e. there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said? 35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] 'they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet;' or 'they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees;' further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The fact that the *gopīs* were other men's wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words 'the *gopīs*,' that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to *other men's* wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is 'he who moves within,' the superintendent, the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault. 37. He now, in the words 'out of benevolence,' answers the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things.[61] 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners."

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Krishṇa, and is perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with

[61] I find this sense of the word *bahirmukha* in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

himself), had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahmā by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 40):

Bhāgavad Gītā, iii. 20 ff.—*Karmaṇaiva hi saṁsiddham āsthitā Janakādayaḥ | loka-saṅgraham evāpi sampaśyan karttum arhasi* | 21. *Yad yad ācharati śreshṭhas tat tad evetaro janaḥ | sa yat pramāṇaṁ kurute lokas tad anuvarttate* | 22. *Na me Pārthāsti karttavyaṁ trishu lokeshu kiñchana | nānavāptam avāptavyaṁ vartta eva cha karmaṇi* | 23. *Yadi hy ahaṁ na varteyaṁ jātu karmany atandritaḥ | mama varttmānuvarttante manushyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ* | 24. *Utsīdeyur ime lokā na kuryāṁ karma ched aham | saṅkarasya cha karttā syām upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ* | 25. *Saktāḥ karmany avidvāṁso yathā kurvanti Bhārata || kuryād vidvāṁs tathā 'saktaś chikīrshur loka-saṅgraham* | 26. *Na buddhi-bhedaṁ janayed ajñānāṁ karma-saṅginām | joshayet sarva-karmāṇi vidvān yuktaḥ samācharan* |

"20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind.[62] 21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow. 22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Pṛithā, which I have to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, o son of Pṛithā, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people will be ruined if I do not practise works; and I shall occasion a confusion of castes: I shall destroy these subjects. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a difference of opinion among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind."

I quote here some other interesting legends which I have observed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa regarding Prajāpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became

[62] Compare Raghuvaṁśa iii. 46. . . . *pathaḥ śucher darśayitāra īśvarā malīmasāṁ ādadate na paddhatim* | "Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] pursue an unclean path."

superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. The first two tell how Prajāpati himself became immortal.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—*Prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛijata | sa ūrddhvebhya eva prāṇebhyo devān*[63] *asṛijata ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo marttyāḥ prajāḥ | athordhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram asṛijata | 2. Tasya ha Prajāpater ardham eva marttyam āsīd ardham amṛitam | tad yad asya marttyam āsīt tena mṛityor abibhet | sa vibhyad imām prāviśad dvayam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛityur devān abravīt 'kva nu so 'bhūd yo no 'sṛishṭa' iti | 'tvad bibhyad imām prāvixad' iti | so 'bravīd 'taṁ vā anvichchhāma taṁ sambharāma na vā ahaṁ taṁ hiṁsishyāmi' iti | taṁ devā asyā adhi samabharan | yad asya apsv āsīt tā apaḥ samabharann atha yat*[63] *asyāṁ tām mṛidam | tad ubhayaṁ sambhṛitya mṛidañcha apaścha ishṭakām akurvaṁs tasmād etad ubhayam ishtakā bhavati mṛichchāpaścha | 4. Tad etā vā asya tāḥ pañcha marttyās tanva āsan loma tvaṇ māṁsam asthi majjā atha etā amṛitā mano vāk prāṇaś chaxuḥ śrotram | . . . . . 6. Te devā abruvann 'amṛitam imaṁ karavāma' iti | tasya etābhyām amṛitābhyaṁ tanūbhyām etam martyām tanūm parigṛihya amṛitām akurvann ityādi | . . . . . 7. . . . . tato vai Prajāpatir amṛito 'bhavat . . . | . . .*

x. 1, 4, 1.—*Ubhayaṁ ha etad agre Prajāpatir āsa marttyaṁ chaiva amṛitañcha | tasya prāṇā evāmṛitā āsuḥ śarīraṁ marttyam | sa etena karmaṇā etayā āvṛitā ekadhā 'jaram amṛitam ātmānam akuruta |*

"Prajāpati produced creatures. From his upper breaths he created the gods, and from his lower breaths mortal creatures. After the creatures he created Death the devourer. 2. Of this Prajāpati, half was mortal, and half immortal. With that part of him which was mortal, he was afraid of Death. Fearing, he entered this [earth], having become two things, earth and water. 3. Death said to the gods, 'what

[63] The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2), as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2 (p. 401): *Ashṭau Vasava ekādaśa Rudrā dvādaśādityā ime eva dyāvā-pṛithivī trayastriṁśyau | trayastrimśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiś chatustriṁśaḥ |* "There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and these [two] heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth."

has become of him who created us?' [They answered], 'fearing you, he has entered this earth.' Death said, 'let us search for, and collect him. I will not kill him.' The gods then collected him on this [earth]. The part of him which was in the waters, they collected those waters, and the part which was in this [earth], they [collected] that earth. Having collected both of these, the earth and the waters, they made a brick. Hence these two things make a brick, viz., earth and water. 4. Then these five parts of him were mortal, hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow; and these immortal, mind, voice, breath, eye, ear . . . . . 6. The gods said, 'let us make him immortal.' So [saying], having surrounded this mortal part with these immortal parts, they made it immortal . . . . . thence Prajāpati became immortal . . . . ."

x. 1, 4, 1.—"Prajāpati was formerly both of these two things, mortal and immortal. His breaths were immortal, and his body mortal. By this rite, by this ceremonial, he made himself uniformly undecaying and immortal."

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortality.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): *Esha vai mṛityur yat sāmvatsaraḥ | Esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyuḥ xiṇoty atha mriyante tasmād esha eva mṛityuḥ | sa yo ha etam mṛityuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyuḥ xiṇoti sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti | 2. Esha evāntakaḥ | esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ gachhaty*[61] *atha mriyante | tasmād esha evāntakaḥ | sa yo haitam antakaṁ mṛityuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ gachhati sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti | 3. Te devā etasmād antakād mṛityoḥ saṁvatsarāt Prajāpater bibhayāṁ-chakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ na gachhed' iti | 4. Te etān yajñakratūṁs tenire 'gnihotraṁ darśa-pūrṇamāsau chāturmās-yāni paśubandhaṁ saumyam adhvaram | te etair yajña-kratubhir yaja-mānā na amṛitatvam ānaśire | 5. Te ha apy Agniṁ chikyire | te 'parimitā eva pariśrita upadadhur aparimitā yajushmatīr aparimitā lokam-pṛiṇā yathā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhati iti devā akurvann iti te ha naiva amṛitatvam ānaśire | te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaś cherur amṛitatvam avarurutsamānāḥ | tān ha Prajāpatir uvācha 'na vai me sarvāṇi rūpāṇy*

[61] *Gachhati-gamayati* | Comm.

upadhattha ati vaiva rechayatha na vā 'bhyāpayatha tasmād na amṛitā bharatha' iti | 7. Te ha ūchuḥ | 'tebhyo vai nas tvam eva tad brūhi yathā te sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadadhāma' iti | 8. Sa ha uvācha shashṭiṁ cha triṇi cha śatāni pariśrita upadhatta shashṭiṁ cha triṇi cha śatāni yajushmatīr adhi shaṭ-triṁśatam atha lokampriṇā daśa cha sahasrāṇy ashṭau cha śatāny upadhatta atha me sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadhāsyatha atha amṛitā bhavishyatha' iti | te ha tathā devā upadadhus tato devā amṛitā āsuḥ | 9. Sa mṛityur devān abravīd 'itthaṁ eva sarve manushyā amṛitā bhavishyanty atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhavishyati' iti | te ha ūchur 'na ato 'paraḥ kaśchana saha śarīreṇa amṛito 'sad yadā eva tvam etam bhāgam harāsai | atha vyāvṛityā śarīreṇa [śarīram vihāya, Comm.] amṛito 'sad yo 'mṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' iti | yad vai tad abruvan 'vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' ity eshā haiva sā vidyā yad Agnir etad u haiva tat karma yad Agniḥ | 10. Te ye evaṁ etad vidur ye vaitat karma kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti | te sambhavanta eva amṛitatvam abhi sambhavanti | atha ye evaṁ na vidur ye vaitat karma na kurvato mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti te etasyaivannam punaḥ punar bharanti |

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—"It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, 'lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.' 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the *agnihotra*, the *darśa*, and *pūrṇamāsa*, the *chāturmāsyas* (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the *paśubandha*, and the *saumya adhvara*; but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated *pariśrits*, *yajushmatīs*, *lokampṛiṇas*, without definite measure, as some now[65] celebrate them. So

[65] This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.

did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, 'Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye carry them to excess [?] and ye do not duly carry them out; hence ye do not become immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'perform 63 hundred *pariśriṭs*, 63 hundred and 36 *yajushmatīs*, and 10 thousand 8 hundred *lokampṛiṇas*: ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'no other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then everyone who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his (death's) food."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. i. 2, 12 (p. 828).—*Martyā ha vā agre devā asuḥ | sa yadaiva te saṁvatsaram āpur atha amṛitā āsuḥ | sarvaṁ vai saṁvatsaraḥ | sarvaṁ vā axayyam | etena u ha asya axayyaṁ sukṛitam bhavaty axayyo lokaḥ |* "The gods were originally mortal.[66] When they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying world."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 6 (p. 839).—*Martyā ha vā agre devā āsuḥ | sa yadaiva te brahmaṇā "pur (vyāptāḥ,* Comm.) *atha amṛitā āsuḥ |* "The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by Brāhma, they became immortal."

From the next passage, as from two others already quoted (p. 47), it appears that Prajāpati himself was not entirely exempt from the power of death. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 4, 1 (p. 790).—

[66] See Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 2, 8 (p. 146), quoted in Part II. of this work, p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to have become immortal by another means.

Prajāpatiṁ vai prajāḥ sṛijamānam pāpmā mṛityur abhipari-jaghāna | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarān pāpmānaṁ vijihāsann ityādi | "Sin, death, smote Prajāpati when he was creating living beings. He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from Sin."

The following legend describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Asuras. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—*Devāścha Asuraścha ubhayo prājāpatyāḥ Prajāpateḥ pitur dāyam upeyur vācham eva satyānṛito satyañchaiva anṛitañcha | te ubhaye eva satyam avadann ubhaye 'nṛitam | te ha sadṛiśaṁ vadantaḥ sadṛiśā evāsuḥ |* 13. *Te devā utsṛijyānṛitaṁ satyam anvālebhire | asurā u ha utsṛijya satyam anṛitam anvālebhire |* 14. *Tad ha idaṁ satyam īxāñchakre yad asureshv āsa 'devā vā utsṛijya anṛitaṁ satyam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad devān ājagāma |* 15. *Anṛitam u ha īxāñchakre yad deveshv āsa 'asurā vā utsṛijya satyam anṛitam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad asurān ājagāma |* 16. *Te devāḥ sarvaṁ satyam avadan sarvam asurā anṛitam | te devā ásakti*[67] *satyaṁ vadanta aishāvīratarā iva āsur anāḍhyatarā iva | tasmād u ha etad ya āsakti satyaṁ vadaty aishāvīratara ivaiva bhavaty anāḍhyatara iva | sa ha tv evāntato bhavati*[68] *devā hy evāntato 'bhavan |* 17. *Atha ha asurā āsakty anṛitaṁ vadanta ūsha iva pipisur*[69] *āḍhyā ivāsuḥ | tasmād u ha etad ya āsakty anṛitaṁ vadaty ūsha ivaiva pisyaty āḍhya iva bhavati parā ha tv evāntato bhavati parā hy asurā abhavan | tad yat tat satyaṁ trayī sā vidyā | te devā abruvan 'yajñam kṛitvedaṁ satyaṁ tanavāmahai' |* . . . . . 27. *Teshu preteshu tṛitīya-savanam atanvata | tat samasthāpayan | yat samasthāpayaṁs*

[67] *Āsakti satyam | kevalaṁ satyam |* Comm.

[68] Some such preposition as *abhi* might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that *bhavati* may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, "he really exists, continues, or prevails." Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.

[69] I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where the word *pisyati* occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: *Peśukaṁ vai vāstu pisyati ha prajayā paśubhir yasyaivaṁ vidusho 'nushṭubhau bhavataḥ |* "His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle.—that man who, when he knows this, has the two *anushtubs*." The commentator explains the word *peśukam* as equal to *abhivardhana-śīlam*, "whose nature is to increase," and *pisyati* as meaning *ativṛiddho bhavati*, "he becomes exceedingly augmented."

tat sarvaṁ satyam āpnuvaṁs tato 'surā apapupruvire | tato devā abhavan parā 'surāḥā | bhavaty ātmanā parā 'sya dvishan bhrātṛivyo bhavati ya evaṁ veda |

"The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati, obtained their father Prajāpati's inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras, perceived this, 'the gods, abandoning falsehood have adopted truth; let me go thither.' So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods, perceived, 'the Asuras, abandoning truth have adopted falsehood; let me go thither.' So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth alone (or devotedly) the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks only truth, becomes as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [superior?] for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking only falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks only falsehood, increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but is overcome in the end, for the Asuras were overcome. That which is truth is the triple science (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, 'let us, after performing sacrifice, spread truth.'" The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. "When these had gone, they instituted the third *savana*, and accomplished it. That which they accomplished, they obtained entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and these gods became [superior and] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated."

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Satapatha Brahmāṇa, 4, 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.)—*Sarve ha vai devā agre sadriśā āsuḥ sarve puṇyāḥ | teshāṁ sarveshāṁ sadriśānāṁ sarveshāṁ puṇyānāṁ trayo 'kāmayanta 'atishṭhāvānaḥ syāma' ity Agnir Indraḥ Sāryaḥ | 2. Te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | te etān atigrāhyān da-*

dṛiśus tān atyagṛihṇata | tad yad enān atyagṛihṇata tasmād atigrāhyā nāma | te 'tishṭhāraño 'bhavan | yathaite etad atishṭhā iva atishṭhā iva ha vai bhavati yasya evaṁ vidusha etān grahān gṛihṇanti | 3. No ha vā idam agre 'gnau varcha āsa yad idam asmin varchaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi varchaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṇīta tato 'sminn etad varcha āsa | 4. No ha vā idam agre Indre oja āsa yad idam asminn ojaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayy ojaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṇīta tato 'sminn etad oja āsa | 5. No ha vā idam agre sūrye bhrāja āsa yad idam asmin bhrājaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi bhrājaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṇīta tato 'sminn etad bhrāja āsa | etāni ha vai tejāṁsy etāni vīryyaṇy ātman dhatte yasya evaṁ vidusha etān grahān gṛihṇanti |

"Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: 'May we become superior,' viz., Agni, Indra, and Sūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling. They saw these *atigrāhyas*;[70] they took them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called *atigrāhyas*. They became superior. As they [obtained?] thus, as it were, superiority, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these *grahas* (draughts, or cups). 3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: 'May this flame be in me.' He saw this *graha*, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3.] 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3.] That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these *grahas*."

[70] By this name are called "three particular *grahas*, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya." Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. The word is explained by Boehtlingk and Roth, as meaning "*haustus insuper hauriendus*," a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.

CHAPTER II.

VISHNU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRÁHMANAS, THE ITIHASAS, AND THE PURANAS.

SECT. I.—*Passages in the Hymns of the Rig-veda relating to Vishṇu.*

R. V. i. 22, 16 ff.: 16. (=S. V. 2, 1024) *Áto devá avantu no yato Vishṇur vichakrame | pṛithivyáḥ sapta dhámabhiḥ |* 17. (=S. V. i. 222; Váj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4.) *Idaṁ Vishṇur vichakrame tredhá nidadhe padam | samúḷham asya páṁsure [páṁsule] |* S. V. 18. (=S. V. 2, 1020; Váj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5.) *Tríṇi padá vichakrame Vishṇur gopá adábhyaḥ | áto dharmáṇi dhárayan |* 19. (=S. V. 2, 1021; Váj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6.) *Vishṇoḥ karmáṇi paśyata yato vratáni paspaśe | Indrasya yujyaḥ sakhá |* 20. (=S. V. 2, 1022; Váj. S. 6, 5; A. V. 7, 26, 7.) *Tád Vishṇoḥ paramam padaṁ sadá paśyanti súrayaḥ | divíva chakṣur átatam |* 21. (= S. V. 2, 1023; Váj. S. 34, 44.) *Tád viprásо vipanyavo jágṛivāṁsaḥ samindhate | Vishṇor yat paramam padam |*

16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishṇu strode[1] through the seven regions of the earth.[2] 17. Vishṇu strode over this [universe]; in three places he planted his step: [the world,

[1] Mbh. Sánti-Parva, v. 13, 171: *Kramaṇách chápy aham Pártha Vishṇur ity abhisaṁjñitaḥ |* "And from striding, o son of Pṛithá, I am called *Vishṇu*."

[2] Instead of the words *pṛithivyáḥ sapta dhámabhiḥ*, the Sáma-veda reads, *pṛithivyá adhi sánavi:* "over the surface of the earth." This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sáma-veda, as well as in his "Orient and Occident," i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishṇu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sáyaṇa to this and the following verses, see Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda and notes *in loco*. Compare also Rosen's Latin version.

or, his step, was] enveloped in his dust.[3] 18. Vishṇu, the unconquerable[4] preserver, strode three steps, bearing from thence fixed observances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishṇu, through which this fitting (or intimate) friend of Indra perceived[5] religious ceremonies. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishṇu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up[6] [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishṇu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 19;[7] where we have the following explanation of its purport:—

Yad idaṁ kiñcha tad vikramate Vishṇuḥ | tridhā nidhatte padaṁ | 'tredhā-bhāvāya pṛithivyām antarikṣe divi' iti Śākapūṇiḥ | 'samārohaṇe vishṇupade gayaśirasi' ity Aurṇavābhaḥ | 'samūḍham asya pāṁsure' | pṛāyāṇe 'ntarikṣe padaṁ na dṛiśyate | apivā upamārthe syāt | saṁūḍhaṁ asya pāṁsule iva padaṁ na dṛiśyate ityādi |

"Vishṇu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. 'for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' according to Śākapūṇi; or, 'on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,' according to Aurṇavābha. '*Samūḍham asya pāṁsure*,' i.e. his place is not seen in the atmosphere (*pṛāyaṇe antarikṣe*): or the phrase may be

[3] According to Benfey, translation of S. V. p. 223, note, this phrase, the world is veiled in Vishṇu's dust, means, it is subjected to him. In his "Orient and Occident," he explains it thus: "he is so mighty that the dust which his tread raises, fills the whole earth." Can this dust be understood of the dazzling brightness of the sun's rays, surrounding his progress, and obscuring his disk from the view of the observer? The prophet Nahum says, i. 3., "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and *the clouds are the dust of his feet*."

[4] *Adābhya* may also mean "who cannot be deceived." The idea of Vishṇu being pre-eminently the preserver of the universe which became current in later times, may possibly have been derived from this verse.

[5] Sāyana gives to the root *spaś* the sense of "hindering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders *paspaśe* by "received," and, in the "Orient and Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishṇu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in Nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root *spaś* occur in the R. V.

[6] Benfey renders *samindhate* "glorify." The Commentator on the Vaj. S. 31, 44, makes it *dīpayante=upāsate*. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni?] when Vishṇu is in his highest position."

[7] Formerly cited in part in the Second Part of this work, p. 187.

metaphorical, 'enveloped in the dust, as it were, his place is not seen," etc.

The following is the comment of Durgāchāryya[8] on this passage of the Nirukta:

Vishṇur Ādityaḥ | Katham iti yata āha 'tredhā nidadhe padam' nidhatte padaṁ nidhānam padaiḥ | kva tat tāvat | 'pṛithivyām antarixe divi' iti Śākapūṇiḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā pṛithivyāṁ yat kiñchid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati | antarixe vaidyutātmanā | divi suryātmanā | yad uktam 'tam ū akriṇvan tredhā bhuve kam' (R. V. x. 88, 10) *iti | 'samārohaṇe' udaya-girāv udyan padam ekaṁ nidhatte | 'vishṇupade' madhyandine 'ntarixe | 'gayasirasy' astaṁgirāv ity Aurṇavābha āchāryyo manyate |*

"Vishṇu is the sun [Āditya]. How so? Because [the hymn] says, 'in three places he planted his step;' i.e. plants his step, [makes] a planting with his steps. Where, then, is this done? 'On the earth, in the firmament, and in the sky,' according to Śākapūṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he strides over,—abides in, whatever there is, on earth; in the shape of lightning, in the firmament; and in the form of the sun, in the sky. As it is said (in the R. V. x. 88, 10), 'They made him to become threefold." Aurṇavabha Achāryya thinks [the meaning is] this, 'He plants one foot on the '*samārohaṇa* (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another] on the '*vishṇupada*,' the meridian sky; [a third] on the '*gayaśiras*,' the hill of setting."

It thus appears from the statement of Yāska that the two old writers whom he quotes, had proposed two different interpretations of Vishṇu's steps.

First: Śākapūṇi thought that the triple manifestation of the god, in the form of fire on earth, of lightning in the atmosphere, and of the solar light in the sky, was intended in the hymn. This three-fold distribution of divine agency is thus referred to in another interesting passage of the Nirukta, vii. 5:

Tisra eva devatā iti Nairuktā Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntarixa-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyā api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanty api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā'dhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni ityadi |

[8] Already quoted in the Second Part of this work, p. 215.

"There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktas (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness,[9] or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] *hotṛi*, *adhvaryyu*, *brahman*, and *udgātṛi* are applied to one and the same person. Or [the gods in question] may all be distinct, for distinct hymns and appellations are addressed to them," etc.[10]

According to Śākapūṇi, therefore, Vishṇu would be the god who is manifested in a three-fold form on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky.

Secondly: Aurṇavābha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Vishṇu, not of fire, lightning, and solar light, but of the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting. According to him, therefore, Vishṇu is simply the sun.

Sāyana (see Professor Wilson's translation, p. 53, note) understands this passage as referring to the three steps of Vishṇu in his "Dwarf incarnation," of which I shall supply details further on. The commentator on the Vājasaneyi Saṅhitā annotates thus, on 5, 15 (= verse 17 of the hymn before us):

Vishṇus trivikramāvatāraṁ kṛitvā idaṁ viśraṁ vichakrame vibhajya kramate sma | tad evāha | tredhā padaṁ nidadhe bhumāv ekam padam antarikṣe dvitīyaṁ divi tṛitīyam iti kramād Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rūpeṇa ity arthaḥ |

"Vishṇu, becoming incarnate as *Trivikrama* (the god who stepped thrice) strode over,—i.e. stepped by separate strides over,—this whole [universe]. It is this that [the ṛishi] expresses [in the words] 'In three places he planted his step,' i.e., one step on the earth, a second in the atmosphere, and a third in the sky: in the successive forms of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya."

The commentator combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of

[9] Καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία, Æschylus Prom. Vinct. v. 217.

[10] In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, *Mahābhāgyād devatāyā eka ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasyātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyaṅgāni bhavanti* | "From the greatness of the Deity one Soul is celebrated in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul," etc. Compare Mr. Colebrooke's Essays, i. 26 f.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.'s Ed.

Vishṇu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of Śākapūṇi, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of Śākapūṇi, or of Aurṇavābha, as handed down by Yāska of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishṇu.

I proceed to quote from the Rig-veda some further texts relative to Vishṇu.[11]

R. V. i. 85, 7: *Te avardhanta sva-tavaso mahitvanā ā nākaṁ tasthur uru chakrire sadaḥ | Vishṇur yad ha āvad vṛishaṇam mada-chyutaṁ vayo na sīdann adhi barhishi priye |*

"They (the Maruts) strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Vishṇu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride,[12] they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—*Uta no dhiyo go-agrāḥ Pūshan Vishṇo eva-yāvaḥ | karta naḥ svastimataḥ | 9. śaṁ no Mitraḥ śāṁ Varuṇaḥ śaṁ no bhavatu Aryamā | śaṁ na Indro Bṛihaspatiḥ śaṁ no Vishṇur urukramaḥ |*

5. "Pushan, Vishṇu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle as their principal fruit: make us prosperous. . . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuna, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Bṛihaspati, may the wide-striding Vishṇu, all grant us prosperity."

I now come to a hymn which, with the exception of the last verse—(where two gods are alluded to)—is devoted exclusively to the celebration of Vishnu's praises.

R. V. 1, 154 (=Vāj. S. 5, 18; Ā. V. 7, 26, 1).—*Vishṇor nu kaṁ vīryāṇi pravochaṁ*[13] *yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi | yo askabhāyad uttaroṁ sadhasthaṁ vichakramāṇas tredhā urugāyaḥ | 2.* (=A. V. 7, 26, 2, 3;

[11] The word occurs in R. V. i. 61, 7, *Mushāyad vishṇuḥ pachatam ityādi;* but it may there be an epithet of Indra.

[12] Though the commentator *in loco* renders *mada-chyutam* by *madasya harshasyāsaktāram*, "dispenser of joy," he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2—where it is an epithet of Indra—by *śatrūṇām madasya garvasya chyāvayitāram*, "who brings down the pride of his enemies." In R. V. viii. 1, 21, the word *mada-chyut* is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt.

[13] The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), *Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pravocham*, etc. Compare R. V. ii. 15, 1.

Nir. 1, 20): *Pra tad Vishṇuḥ stavato vīryeṇa mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ*[14] | *yasyorushu trishu vikramaṇeshu adhixiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā* | 3. *Pra Vishṇave śūsham etu manma girixite urugāyāya*[15] *vṛishṇe* | *yaḥ idaṁ dīrgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko vimame tribhir it padebhiḥ* | 4. *Yasya trī pūrṇā madhunā padāni axīyamāṇā svadhayā madanti* | *ya u tridhātu pṛithivīm uta dyām eko dādhāra bhuvanāni viśvā* | 5. *Tad asya prīyam abhi pātho aśyāṁ naro yatra devayavo madanti* | *urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā Vishṇoḥ pade parame madhva utsaḥ* | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): *Tā vāṁ vāstūni uśmasi gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛingā ayāsaḥ* | *atrāha tad urugāyasya vṛishṇaḥ paramam padam ava bhāti bhūri* |

"I declare the valorous deeds of Vishṇu, who measured the mundane regions, who established the upper world, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Vishṇu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let the hymn proceed [as a source of] strength to Vishṇu, the dweller in the aerial mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone measured with three steps this wide, stable firmament;—4. Whose three stations, replenished with honey, imperishable, gladden us spontaneously; who alone sustained the triple universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds. 5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishṇu. 6. We desire to attain to those abodes of you two, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here

[14] On this verse the Nirukta remarks: "*Kuchara*" *iti charati karma kutsitam* | *atha ched devatābhidhānaṁ kva ayaṁ na charati iti* | *girishṭhā giristhāyī giriḥ parvataḥ . . . . tat-prakṛiti itarat sandhi-sāmānyād megha-sthāyī megho 'pi girir ucyate eva* | "'*Kuchara*' is one who does (*charati*) a blameable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean 'where does he not go?' '*Girishṭhāḥ*' means 'abiding in the mountains;' for *giri* means 'mountain.'" . . . . . The author then gives various etymologies of the word *parvata*, "mountain," one of which is that it is derived from *parvan*, "a joint;" and then proceeds: "From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of 'abiding in the clouds,' for a cloud also is called *giri* for the same reason." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison *mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ* is applied to Indra in R. V. x. 180, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3).

[15] *Urugāyasya = pṛithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā.*—Sāyaṇa on R. V. iii. 6, 4. *Urugāyasya = mahāgateḥ.*—Nir. ii. 7.

that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth."

I shall quote a portion of the explanation Sāyaṇa gives of the words, *pārthivāni rajāṁsi*, in the first verse of the preceding hymn: *Yo Vishṇuḥ pārthivāni pṛithivī-sambandhīni rajāṁsi raṅjanātmakāni xity-ādi-lokatrayābhimānīny Agni-Vāyv-Āditya-rūpāṇi rajāṁsi vimame viśeshena nirmame | atra trayo lokā api pṛithivī-śabda-vāchyāḥ | tathā cha mantrāntaram* (R. V. i. 108, 9), *'yad Indrāgnī avamasyām pṛithivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta stha' iti | Taittirīye 'pi 'yo 'syām pṛithivyām asy āyushā' ity upakramya 'yo dvitīyasyāṁ tṛitīyasyām pṛithivyām' iti | tasmāl lokatrayasya pṛivithī-śabda-vāchyatvam | . . . . yadvā yo Vishṇuḥ pārthivāni pṛithivī-sambandhīni rajāṁsi adhastana-sapta-lokān vimame | . . . . rajaḥ-śabdo loka-vāchī 'lokā rajāṁsy uchyante' iti Yāskenoktatvāt | . . . . athavā pārthivāni pṛithivī-nimittakāni rajāṁsi lokān vimame | bhūr-ādi-loka-trayam ity arthaḥ | bhūmyām vpārjitakarma-bhogārthatvād itara-lokānāṁ tat-kāraṇatvam |*

"[The meaning is], Vishṇu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with *pṛithivī* (the earth),—the regions (*rajāṁsi*),—the things whose nature is to delight (*raṅjanātmakāni*),—represented by the three worlds, the earth, etc., and existing in the form of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term *pṛithivī*. Thus another hymn [R. V. i. 108, 9, says]: 'Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest earth (*pṛithivī*), in the middle [earth], or in the highest,' etc. In the Taittirīya also, [we have the words beginning with] 'thou who art on this earth,' etc., etc.; [and proceeding] 'who in the second, or third earth,' etc., etc. Hence the three worlds are intended to be signified by the word *pṛithivī*. . . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Vishṇu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term *rajas* denotes a world, since Yāska says 'worlds are called *rajāṁsi*.' . . . . Or [the sense may be], he made the terrestrial regions, the worlds caused by the earth, i.e. the three worlds, the earth, and the others. For as the other worlds are meant to be enjoyed as the rewards of merit acquired on earth, the latter is the cause of the former."

The following is the passage of the Nirukta, iv. 19, referred to by Sāyaṇa, which gives the meanings of *rajas*: *Rajo rajateḥ | jyotī raja*

uchyate | udakaṁ raja uchyate | lokā rajāṁsy uchyante | asṛig[16]*-ahanī rajasī uchyete | 'rajāṁsi chitrā vicharanti tanyava' ity api nigamo bharati |*

"*Rajas* is derived from the root *raj*. Light is called *rajas*. Water is called *rajas*. The worlds are called *rajāṁsī*. Blood (?), and day and night are called *rajasī*. There is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5), 'Brilliant and resounding [the Maruts] sweep over the worlds.'"—See also Nir. x. 44, and xii. 23, and R. V. i. 90, 7.

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (*rājāṁsi*): *vi yas tastambha shaḷ imā rajāṁsi*, "who established these six worlds."

The verb *vimame* cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of "constructing." It occurs, not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of "measuring," or "traversing," as it could not fitly be said of Vishṇu that he constructed the firmament *with three steps*. The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ*, "measurer of the world," occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 14), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 158. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle *mimānaḥ* seems to have the same sense: *vi dyām eshi rajas pṛithv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni sūrya* | "Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (*rajas*), and the days, with thy rays,[17] beholding created things."

The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ* occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is *arkas tridhātū rajaso vimānaḥ*[18] | "the threefold light, the measurer of the world," which the commentator explains thus: *tredhā ātmānam vibhajya tatra Vāyv-ātmanā rajaso 'ntarikṣasya vimāno vimātā 'dhishṭhāta 'smi* | "Triply dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, he who abides in the atmosphere."

Compare, with the phrase before us, Habakkuk iii. 6: "He stood and measured the earth," etc.

I shall adduce one other passage (R. V. v. 81, 3 = Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the

[16] Roth conjectures that the word *asṛik* here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 46.

[17] The word *aktubhiḥ* is rendered "nights" by Yāska in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by *raśmibhiḥ*, "rays," in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.

[18] This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Pariśishṭa ii. 1.

world is ascribed to Savitṛi (the sun): *Yasya prayāṇam anv anye id yayur devā devasya mahimānam ojasā | yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśo rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā |* "He who measured out the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitṛi is a steed, whose course, and [whose display of] might, the other gods have followed with vigour."

This text is quoted and commented on in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18 (p. 520). *'Yasya prayāṇam anv anye id yayur' iti | Prājāpatir vā etad agre karmākarot | tat tato devā akurvan 'devā devasya mahimānam ojasā' iti | yajño vai mahimā | devā devasya yajñaṁ vīryyam ojasā ity etad | 'yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśaḥ' iti | yad vai kiñcha asyāṁ tat pārthivaṁ tad esha sarvaṁ vimimīte | raśmibhir hy enad abhyaratanoti | 'rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā' iti | ime vai lokā rajāṁsy asāv Āditya devaḥ Savitā | tān esha mahimnā vimimīte |* "'Whose course the other gods have followed.' Prajāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] 'the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.' Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. 'He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.' Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. 'The god Savitṛi [measured out] the regions by his power.' These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitṛi. He measures them out by his power."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words *pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi*, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of its account of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu, assigning to them, however, a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: *Pāraṁ mahimna uru-vikramato gṛiṇāno yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa rajāṁsi marttyaḥ | kiṁ jāyamāna uta jāta upaiti marttya ity āha mantradṛig ṛishiḥ purushasya yasya |* "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Vishṇu's) greatness, computes the [*particles of the*] *dust of the earth*. Can the mortal who is being born, or has been born, attain to it? Thus speaks the ṛishi who saw a hymn regarding Purusha."

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: *Uru bahu vikramato Vishṇor mahimnaḥ pāraṁ yo gṛiṇāno bhavati sa marttyaḥ pārthivāni rajāṁsy api vimame gaṇitavān | yathā pārthiva-paramāṇu-gaṇa-*

nam aśakyaṁ tathā Vishṇor guṇa-gaṇanam aśakyaṁ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha mantro 'Vishṇor nu kaṁ vīryāṇi' iti | etad eva mantrāntarārthaṁ sūchayann āha yasya purushasya pūrṇa-mahimnaḥ pāram mantra-dṛig ṛishir Vasishṭha ity evam āha | katham | kiṁ jāyamāno jāto vā upaiti na ko'pi iti vadann anantatvena evāha ity arthaḥ | tathā cha mantro 'na te Vishṇo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa' iti | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Vishṇu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Vishṇu's qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R. V. 1, 154) says: *I declare the valorous deeds of Vishṇu*, etc. Alluding to the sense of another hymn, he says the same thing in these words: 'regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Purusha, Vasiśhṭha, the seer of a hymn, thus speaks:' How? 'Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says: *No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, o divine Vishṇu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness.*"

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7: *Sarve 'pi raśmayo gāva uchyante | . . . tāni vāṁ vāstūni kāmayāmahe gamanāya yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛingāḥ . . . ayāso 'yanāḥ | tatra tad urugāyasya Vishṇor mahāgateḥ paramam padam parārdhyastham avabhāti bhūri |* "All rays are called *gāvaḥ*." Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: "We desire to attain to these regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, . . the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest place, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Vishṇu shines forth brightly."

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19): "May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving, cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer." Roth then proceeds to remark: "This verse occurs in a hymn to Vishṇu; consequently the dual *vām* ("of you two"), cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying *vām iti dampātī abhipretya*, etc. "*vām* refers to the sacrificer and his wife." But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong

places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Sanhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Vishṇu is named in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (6, 3), which, instead of *tā vām̃ vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai*, "we desire to go to these *abodes of you two*," etc., reads, *yā te dhāmāny uśmasi*, etc., "to which *realms of thine* we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishṇu are jointly extolled:

R. V. i. 155.—*Pra vaḥ pāntam*[19] *andhaso dhiyāyate mahe śūrāya Vishṇave cha archata | yā sānuni parvatānām adābhyā mahas tasthatur arvateva sādhunā | 2. Tvesham itthā samaraṇam*[20] *śimīvator Indrā-Vishṇū suta-pā vām urushyati | yā marttyāya pratidhīyamānam it kṛiśānor astur asanām urushyathaḥ | 3. Tā īm̃ vardhanti mahi asya paum̃syam ni mātarā nayati retase bhuje | dadhāti putro avaram param pitur nāma tṛitīyam adhi rochane divaḥ | 4. Tat tad id asya paum̃syam̃ gṛiṇīmasi inasya trātur avṛikasya mīḷhushaḥ | yaḥ pārthivāni tribhir id vigāmabhir uru kramishṭorugāyāya jīvase | 5. Dve id asya kramaṇe svardṛiśo abhikhyāya marttyo bhuraṇyati | tṛitīyam asya nakir ā dadharshati vayaś chana patayantaḥ patatriṇaḥ | 6. Chaturbhiḥ sākām̃ navatiñcha nāmabhiś chakram̃ na vṛittam vyātīnr avīvipat | bṛihachchharīro vivimāna ṛikvabhir yuvā 'kumāraḥ prati eti āhavam |*

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishṇu, who both stood, great and invincible, on the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [mounted] on an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are energetic,—who avert from the [pious] mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kṛiśānu. 3. These [libations] augment his (Vishṇu's) virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the uninjuring, the fecundator, who with three steps traversed[21] far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake

[19] *Pāntam*=*pārīyam*.—Nir. vii. 25.

[20] *Samaraṇam* s.=s. ṇgrāma-nāma.—Nigh. 2, 17.

[21] Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 54, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 58, f.)

of [granting us] a prolonged (*lit.* wide-stepping) existence.[22] 5. A mortal, contemplating, can approach two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dare attempt his third step, not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. He has set in motion, like a rolling wheel, the revolutions of time (?), with their four times (?) ninety names (days?). Conceived by his encomiasts to be vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat."

R. V. 1, 156.—*Bhavā mitro na śevyo ghṛitāsutir vibhūta-dyumna evayā u saprathāḥ | adhā te Vishṇo vidushā chid ardhyaḥ stomo yajñaścha rādhyo havishmatā | 2. Yaḥ pūrvyāya vedhase navīyase sumajjānaye Vishṇave dadāśati | yo jātam asya mahato mahi bravat sa id u śravobhir yujyaṁ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūrvyaṁ yathā vida ṛitasya garbhaṁ janushā piparttana | ā asya jānanto nāma chid vivaktana mahas te Vishṇo sumatim bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Aśvinā kratuṁ sachanta mārutasya vedhasaḥ | dādhāra dakṣam uttamam aharvidaṁ vrajaṁ cha Vishṇur sakhivān apornute | 5. Ā yo vivāya sachathāya daivya Indrāya Vishṇuḥ sukṛite sukṛittaraḥ | vedhā ajinvat triṣhadhastha āryyam ṛitasya bhāge yajamānām ā bhajat |*

"Be to us beneficent like a friend [or like Mittra], worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Vishṇu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Vishṇu, the ancient, the disposer, the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,[23]—he who extols the birth [or offspring] of this mighty Being, shall excel his rival[24] in [renown]. 3. Encomiasts, strive to the

[22] Compare R. V. vi. 69, 5 (p. 71, below).

[23] Sāyaṇa gives two explanations of the word *sumaj-jāni*. The first makes it *svayam evotpannāya*, "born by his own power" (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: *Sumat svayam ity arthaḥ | "sumat* means *svayam*, self.") The second meaning is thus stated: *Sutarām mādayati iti sumat | tadṛiśī jāyā yasya sa . . . . . | tasmai sarva-jagan-mādana-śīla-Śrī-pataye | "su-mat* means 'greatly gladdening.' *Sumaj-jāni* then signifies 'one who has such a wife.' The phrase will thus mean, 'to the lord of Śrī, whose nature it is to gladden the world.'" Dr. Aufrecht thinks that *jāni* has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to to be the world. Prof. Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 90, supposes *sumat* to be derived from *su*, and to mean "easily," "gladly."

[24] Compare the words *yujyo vā sakhā vā* in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where *yujya* is explained by Sāyaṇa as = *yojana-samarthaḥ pitrādir vā*; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word *yujya* is said to be equivalent to *anukūla*, "friendly." Compare also *ayuja* in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

utmost of your skill to please him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name (renown?), declare, 'Vishṇu, we seek the good will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuṇa and the Aśvins wait on the decree of this ruler attended by the Maruts. Vishṇu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day;[25] and with his friend, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishṇu, who has chosen companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three stations, has gratified the Aryya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony."

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—*Sapta ardhagarbhā bhuvanasya reto Vishṇos tishṭhanti pradiśā vidharmaṇi | te dhītibhir manasā te vipaścitaḥ paribhuvaḥ pari bhavanti viśvataḥ |* "Seven half-children (?), the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishṇu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, circling, revolve in every direction."

I do not attempt any explanation of this obscure and mystical utterance. Compare, however, R. V. ix. 86, 29, which will be quoted below, and in which the same words *pradiś* and *vidharman* occur.

R. V. i. 186, 10.—*Pro Aśvināv avase kṛiṇudhvam pra Pūshaṇaṁ svatavaso hi santi | advesho Vishṇur Vātaḥ Ṛibhuxāḥ achhā sumnāya tavṛitīya devān |* "Dispose the Aśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishṇu is free from malice, and so is Vāta (Vāyu) and Ṛibhuxan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us."

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—*Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid brahmaṇaspate tvaṁ vidharttaḥ sachase purandhyā |* "Thou, Agni, art Indra, bountiful to the excellent; thou art Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmaṇaspati, art a priest, acquainted with wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with Purandhi (Devotion).

R. V. ii. 22, 1 (S. V. i. 457).—*Trikadrukeshu mahisho yavāśiraṁ tuviśushmas tṛipat somam apibad Vishṇunā sutaṁ yathā 'vaśat | sa īm mamāda mahi karma karttave mahām uruṁ sa enaṁ saśchad devo devaṁ satyam Indraṁ satya Induḥ |* "The great [Indra] of mighty force,

[25] See the interpretation of the word *aharvid* given by Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 2, 2.

delighted, has drunk with Vishṇu the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured forth at the *Trikadruka* festival, as much as he desired. He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, the god, the true Indra."

R. V. iii. 6, 4.—*Mahān sadhasthe dhruva ā nishatto antar dyāvā māhine haryamāṇaḥ | āskre sapatnī ajare amṛikte sabardughe urugāyasya*[26] *dhenā* | "The great [god, Agni,] firm, seated in his abode, aspires to [the space] between the mighty heaven and earth,—the two cows, joint-wives of the wide-stepping [god], aggressive,[27] undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of water."

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—*Vishṇuṁ stomāsaḥ puru-dasmam arkā bhagasyeva kāriṇo yāmani gman | urukramaḥ kakuho yasya pūrvīr na mardhanti yuvatayo janitrīḥ* | "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishṇu, the worker of many wonders, like bards proceeding in the train of victory. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose primeval, creative wives are indefatigable."

R. V. iii. 55, 10.—*Vishṇur gopāḥ*[28] *paramam pāti pāthaḥ priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānaḥ | Agnish ṭā viśvā bhuvanāni veda mahad devānām asuratvam ekam* | "Vishṇu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the dear,[29] undecaying regions. Agni knows all these worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods."

R. V. iv. 2, 4.—*Aryamaṇaṁ Varuṇam Mitram eshām Indrā-Vishṇu Maruto Aśvinā uta | su-aśvo Agne su-rathaḥ su-rādhāḥ ā id u vaha suhavishe janāya* | "Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and great power, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, and the Aśvins."

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—*Kathā maho puṣhṭim-bharāya Pūshṇe kad Rudrāya su-makhāya havir-de | kad Vishṇave uru-gāyāya reto*[30] *bravaḥ kad Agne*

[26] *Pṛithugamanasya adhika-stuter vā;* Sāyaṇa, who names Agni as the god; though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.

[27] Or, "united," according to Prof. Roth.

[28] Compare R. V. i. 22, 18. The word Vishṇu is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "pervading."

[29] Or, "vast." The commentator renders the word *priya* by *aparimita*, "unmeasured," in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.

[30] Dr. Aufrecht suggests that the original reading here may have been *repas=āgas*,

Śarave bṛihatyai | "Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūshan? why to Rudra, the adored, the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-stepping Vishṇu? why to the great Śaru (Nirṛiti?)."

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—*Uta mātā mahisham anvavenad amī tvā jahati putra devāḥ* | *Atha abravīd Vṛittram Indro hanishyan sakhe Vishṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva* | "And his mother asked the mighty [Indra], 'My son, do those gods forsake thee?' Then Indra, being about to slay Vṛittra, said, 'Friend Vishṇu, do thou stride vastly.'"

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 89th hymn of the 8th Maṇḍala, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. viii. 89, 12.—*Sakhe Vishṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva dyaur dehi lokaṁ vajrāya vishkabhe* | *hanāva Vṛittraṁ riṇachāva sindhūn Indrasya yantu prasave visṛishṭāḥ* | "'Friend Vishṇu, stride vastly;' sky, give room for the thunderbolt to strike; let us slay Vṛittra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow in the path [opened out by?] Indra."

R. V. iv. 55, 4.—*Vi Aryamā Varuṇaś cheti panthām ishas-patiḥ suvitaṁ gātum Agniḥ* | *Indrā-Vishṇū nṛi-vad u shu stavānā śarma no yantam amavad varūtham* | "Aryaman and Varuṇa point out our path; so too Agni, the lord of strength, [shews us] a prosperous road. Indra and Vishṇu, when they are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us prosperity and strong protection."

R. V. v. 3, 1–3.—*Tvam Agne Varuṇo jāyase yat tvam Mitro bhavasi yat samiddhaḥ* | *tve viśve sahasas-putra devās tvam Indro dāśushe martyāya* | 2. *Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat kanīnām nāma svadhāvan guhyam bibharshi* | *añjanti mitraṁ sudhitaṁ na gobhir yad dampatī samanasā kṛiṇoshi* | 3. *Tava śriye Maruto marjayanta*[31] *Rudra yat te janima chāru chitram* | *padaṁ yad Vishṇor upamaṁ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyaṁ nāma gonām* |

"Thou, Agni [art] Varuṇa, when thou art born; thou art Mitra when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods;

"sin." But as the text stands he would connect *retas* with *śarave*, so as to give the sense, "our sin (understood), which is the *occasion for* the great arrow of destruction."

[31] Compare R. V. vii. 3, 5.

thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-controuled, possessest the secret name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest husband and wife of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts prepare that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine.[32] Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Vishṇu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows (stars, or rays.)

R. V. v. 46, 2–4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—*Agne Indra Varuṇa Mitra devāḥ śardhaḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Vishṇo | ubhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pūshā Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta | 3. Indrāgnī Mitrā-Varuṇā Aditiṁ svaḥ pṛithivīṁ dyām Marutaḥ parvatān apaḥ | huve Vishṇum Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatim Bhagaṁ nu Saṁsaṁ Savitāram ūtaye | 4. Uta no Vishṇur uta Vāto asridho draviṇodāḥ uta Somo mayas karat | uta Ṛibhavaḥ uta rāye no Aśvinā uta Tvashṭā uta Vibhvā anu maṁsate |*

2. "Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and ye host of Maruts and Vishṇu. May both the Aśvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvati, be pleased with us. 3. I invoke, for our protection, Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aditi, heaven, earth, sky, the Maruts, the mountains, the waters, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati, Bhaga, Saṁsa, and Savitṛi. 4. And may Vishṇu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And may the Ṛibhus, Aśvins, Tvashṭṛi, and Vibhvan be favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth."

R. V. v. 51, 9.—*Sajūr Mitrā-Varuṇābhyāṁ sajūḥ somena Vishṇunā | ā yāhi Agne Atri-vat sute raṇa |* "Associated with Mitra and Varuṇa, associated with Soma and Vishṇu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libation, as [in that of] Atri."

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—*Pra vo mahe matayo yantu Vishṇave Marutvate girijā evayāmarut | pra śardhāya prayajyave sukhādaye tavase bhandad-ishṭaye dhuni-vratāya śavase | . . . . 4. Sa chakrame mahato nir uru-kramaḥ samānasmāt sadasa evayāmarut | yadā ayukta tmanā svād adhi shṇubhir vishpardhaso vimahaso jigāti śevṛidho nṛibhiḥ | . . . . 8. Advesho no Maruto gātum ā itana śrotā havaṁ jaritur evayā-*

[32] This refers, as Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.

marut | Vishṇor mahaḥ samanyavo yuyotana smad rathyo na daṁsanā apa dveshāṁsi sanutaḥ |

"May your hill-born (or, voice-born), hymns proceed to the great Vishṇu, attended by the Maruts, o Evayāmarut, (swiftly-moving Marut?); and to the troop of Maruts, adorable, wearing beautiful rings, strong, worshipped by praise, to that power which delights in storm.[33] . . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great common abode, o Evayāmarut; when by himself he has yoked his emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . . . 8. Maruts, come without malice to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper, Evayāmarut; of the same mind with the great Vishṇu, like men riding in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might."

The difficult hymn from which these verses are taken is quoted and translated in Prof. Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—*Vardhān yaṁ viśve Marutaḥ sajoshāḥ pachat śatam mahishān Indra tubhyaṁ | Pūshā Vishṇus trīṇi sarāṁsi dhāvan vṛittra-hanam madiram aṁśum asmai |* "For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts, in concert, magnified, Pūshan and Vishṇu cooked a hundred buffaloes. For him three lakes discharged the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma."[34]

R. V. vi. 20, 2.—*Divo na tubhyam anu Indra satrā asuryaṁ devebhir dhāyi viśvam | Ahiṁ yad Vṛittram apo vavrivāṁsaṁ hann ṛijīshin Vishṇunā sachānaḥ |* "All divine power, like that of the sky, was completely communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods,[35] when thou, o impetuous [deity], associated with Vishṇu, didst slay Vṛittra Ahi stopping up the waters."

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—*Pra ūtaye Varuṇam Mitram Indram Marutaḥ kṛishva avase no adya | pra Pūshaṇaṁ Vishṇum Agnim Purandhim Savitāram oshadhīḥ parvatāṁścha |* "Dispose to-day to our help and succour Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Vishṇu, Agni, Purandhi, Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains."

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—*Taṁ vaḥ Indram na sukratuṁ Varuṇam iva māyi-*

[33] Or, "loud-resounding."—Roth.

[34] To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: *Ekayā pratidhā 'pibat sākam sāroṁsi trīṁśatam | Indraḥ somasya kāṇvā |* "Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma." . . . This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word *kāṇvā*, at the close. See Roth's Illust. of Nir., p. 60, f.

[35] *Stotṛibhiḥ*, "worshippers," according to Sāyaṇa.

nam | Aryamaṇaṁ na mandraṁ śṛipra-[31] *bhojasaṁ Vishṇuṁ na stushe ādiśe |* "I praise thee (Pūshan?), beneficent like Indra, wondrous in power like Varuṇa, wise like Aryaman, conferring extended enjoyment like Vishṇu, that thou mayost bestow wealth."[37]

R. V. vi. 49, 13.—*Yo rajāṁsi vimame*[33] *pārthivāni triś chid Vishṇur Manave bādhitāya | tasya te śarmann upa-dadyamāne rāyā madema tanvā tanā cha |* "May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by wealth, in the home given by thee, that Vishṇu who thrice measured the mundane regions for Manu when he was oppressed."[39]

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—*To no Rudraḥ Sarasvatī sajoshāḥ mīḷhushmanto Vishṇur mṛiḷantu Vāyuḥ | Ribhuxāḥ Vājo daivyo vidhātā Parjanyāvātā pipyatām ishaṁ naḥ |* "May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvatī, Vishṇu and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ribhuxan, Vāja, the divine Vidhātṛi (or disposer), Parjanya and Vāta increase our energy."

R. V. vi. 69, 1–8.—*Saṁ vāṁ karmaṇā sam ishā hinomi Indrā-Vishṇū apasas pāre asya | jushethāṁ yajñaṁ draviṇaṁ cha dhattam arishṭair naḥ pathibhiḥ pārayantā |* 2. *Yā viśvāsāṁ janitārā matīnām Indrā-Vishṇū kalaśā soma-dhānā | pra vāṁ giraḥ śasyamānā avantu pra stomāso gīyamānāso arkaiḥ |* 3. *Indrā-Vishṇū mada-patī madānām ā somaṁ yātaṁ draviṇo dadhānā | saṁ vām añjantu aktubhir matīnāṁ saṁ stomāsaḥ śasyamānāsaḥ ukthaiḥ |* 4. *Ā rām aśvāso abhimāti-shāhaḥ Indrā-Vishṇū sadhamādo vahantu | jushethāṁ viśvā havanā matīnām upa brahmāṇi śṛiṇutaṁ giro me |* 5. *Indrā-Vishṇū tat panayāyyaṁ vāṁ somasya made uru chakramāthe | akṛiṇutam antarixaṁ varīyo apratathaṁ jīvase no rajāṁsi |* 6. *Indrā-Vishṇū haviṣhā vāvṛidhānā agrādvānā namasā rātahavyā | ghṛitāsutī draviṇaṁ dhattam asme samudraḥ sthaḥ kalaśaḥ somadhānaḥ |* 7. *Indrā-Vishṇū pibatam madhvo asya somasya dasrā jaṭharam pṛiṇethām | ā vām andhāṁsi madirāṇi agmann upa brahmāṇi śṛiṇutaṁ havam me |* 8. (A. V. 7, 44, 1) *Ubhā jigyathur na parā jayethe na*

[36] The word *śṛipra* occurs also in R. V. i. 96, 3; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 5; iv. 50, 2; viii. 25, 5; and viii. 32, 10 = S. V. i. 217. By Yāska, Nir. vi. 17., it is derived from the root *śṛip*, "to go" (see Roth's Illust., p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyana *sarpaṇa-śīla*, "going," *prasṛita*, "extended," etc. (see also Benfey's Glossary to the S. V.)

[37] Such is the sense assigned to *ādiś* by Sāyaṇa: in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word *pradeśana* rendered "a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends," etc.

[38] *Tribhir eva vikramaṇaiḥ parimitavān |* "measured with three strides."—Sāyaṇa. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, above (p. 58, ff.), and vii. 100, 4., below, (p. 75).

[39] *Asurair hiṁsitāya |* "injured by Asuras."—Sāyaṇa.

parā jigye kataraśchanainoḥ | Indraścha Vishṉo yad apaspṛidhethām̃ tredhā sahasram̃ vi tad airayethām |

"Indra and Vishṉu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation: at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishṉu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishṉu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you[40] twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishṉu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotion and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishṉu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides;[41] ye made the atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence. 6. Indra and Vishṉu, growing by our oblation, swallowers of the essence of the soma, ye who are worshipped with reverence, and to whom butter is presented, bring us wealth, for ye are the receptacle, the bowl, in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishṉu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion; fill your bellies with soma; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishṉu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]."[42]

[40] Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.

[41] The commentator remarks on this: *Yadyapi Vishṉor eva vikramas tathāpy ekārthatvād ubhayor ity uchyate |* "Though 'striding' is an act of Vishṉu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view." In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet *urukrama*, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to S'iva.

[42] The commentator explains this as follows: *Yad yad vastu praty apaspṛidhetham asuraiḥ saha aspṛidhethām̃ tredhā loka-veda-vāgātmanā tridhā sthitam̃ sahasram amitam̃ cha vi tad airayethām̃ vyakramethām ity arthaḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṇam "ubhā jigyathur ity achakkāvākasya | ubhau hi tau jigyathur na parājayethe na parājigye iti na hi tayoḥ kataraśchana parājigye 'Indraś cha Vishṉo yad apaspṛidhethām̃ tredhā sahasram̃ vi tad airayethām' iti | Indraś cha ha vai Vishṉuś cha asurair yuyudhāte tān ha sma jitva achatuḥ kalpāmahā iti | te ha tathā ity asurā ūchuḥ | so 'bravīd Indro yāvad evāyam̃ Vishṉu, trir vikramate tāvad asmākam atha yushmakam itarad iti | sa imān lokān vichakrame 'tho vedān atho vācham | tad āhuḥ kim̃ tat sahasram*

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (=A. V. xix. 10, 9).—*Śaṁ no Aditir bhavatu vratebhiḥ śaṁ no bhavantu Marutaḥ su-arkāḥ | śaṁ no Vishṇuḥ śaṁ u Pūshā no astu śaṁ no bhavitraṁ śam u astu Vāyuḥ* | "May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Vishṇu, may Pūshan, may the Air,[43] may Vāyu, be propitious to us."

R. V. vii. 36, 9.—*Achha ayaṁ vo Marutaḥ ślokaḥ etu achha Vishṇuṁ nishikta-pāṁ śravobhir ityādi* | "Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Vishṇu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies," etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—*Ā Agne giro diva ā pṛithivyā Mitraṁ vaha Varuṇam Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamāṇam Aditiṁ Vishṇum eshāṁ Sarasvatī Maruto mādayantām* | "Agni, [whether thou art] in heaven or earth, carry our words to Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishṇu, among these gods: may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be pleased."

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—*Asya devasya mīḷhusho vayāḥ Vishṇor eshasya*[44]

iti ime lokā ime vedā atho vāg iti brūyāt | airayethām airayethām [ity achhāvāka ukthye 'bhyasyati]" | Ait. Br. 6, 15. | "In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of world, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, i.e. immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 15,] says: *ye both conquered;* this is what the Achhāvāka priest [repeats]: *for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished:* [the last line of the verse before us is then cited]. Indra and Vishṇu fought with the Asuras. Having conquered them, they said, 'let us divide [the world].' The Asuras said, 'be it so.' Indra said, 'As much as this Vishṇu strides over in three strides, so much is ours; the rest is yours.' He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, 'what is that thousand?' let him say, 'These worlds, these Vedas, then speech.' The Achhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual 'ye scattered, ye scattered.'"

[43] The word *bhavitra* is explained by Sāyaṇa as=*bhuvanam antarikṣam udakaṁ vā*. "The world, or the atmosphere, or water." The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.

[44] Sāyaṇa interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, *Vishṇoḥ sarva-devātmakasya asya devasya anye devāḥ vayāḥ śākhā iva bhavanti* | "Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods." He explains *eshasya* as follows: *Prabṛithe havirbhir havī-rūpair annaiḥ eshasya prāpraṇīyasya.* "One who, in the sacrifice, can be reached by oblations of food." The same epithet *esha* is applied to Vishṇu in the other two following passages referred to in Boeht. and Roth's Lexicon under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—*Tān vo maho Maruta evayāvno Vishṇor eshasya prabhṛithe hapāmahe | ityādi* | "In the sacrifice of the rapid Vishṇu we invoke you the great, and impetuous Maruts," etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—*Vidmā hi*

prabhṛithe havirbhiḥ | vide hi Rudro rudriyam mahitvaṁ yāsishṭaṁ varttir Aśvināv irāvat | "[The other gods are?] branches of this bountiful and rapid (?) deity Vishṇu [who is to be worshipped?] with oblations in the sacrifice. For Rudra possesses impetuous power. Come, Aśvins, to our place of sacrifice which is provided with food."

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—*Dadhikrāṁ vaḥ prathamam Aśvinā Ushasam Agniṁ samiddham Bhagam ūtaye huve | Indraṁ Vishṇum Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatim Ādityān dyāvā-pṛithivī apaḥ svaḥ* | "I invoke for your succour first Dadhikrā, the Aśvins, Ushas, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati, the Adityas, heaven and earth, the waters, the sky."

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—*Etā Agne āśushāṇāsa ishṭīr yuvoḥ sachā abhiaśyāma vājān | mā Indro no Vishṇur Marutaḥ parikhyan ityādi* | "Breathing forth these petitions, may we, Agni [and Indra], with [the help of] you twain obtain food. Let not Indra, Vishṇu, and the Maruts despise us," etc.

R. V. vii. 99, 1.—*Paro mātrayā*[45] *tanvā vṛidhāna na te mahitvam anu aśnuvanti | ubhe te vidma rajasī pṛithivyāḥ Vishṇo deva tvam paramasya vitse | 2. Na te Vishṇo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa | ud astabhnāḥ nākam ṛishvaṁ bṛihantaṁ dādhartha prāchīṁ kakubham pṛithivyāḥ | 3 (=Vāj. S. v. 16). Irāvatī dhenumatī hi bhūtaṁ sūyavasinī manushe*[46] *daśasyā | Vi astabhnāḥ rodasī Vishṇo ete dādhartha pṛithivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ | 4. Uruṁ yajñāya chakṛathur u lokaṁ janayantā Sūryam Ushāsam Agnim | dāsasya chid vṛishaśiprasya māyā jaghnathur naṛā pṛitanājyeshu | 5. Indrā-Vishṇū dṛiṁhitāḥ Sambarasya nava puro navatiṁ cha śnathishṭam | śataṁ varchinaḥ sahasraṁ cha sākaṁ hatho aprati asurasya vīrān | 6. Iyam manīshā bṛihatī bṛihantā urukramā tavasā vardhayantī | rare vāṁ stomaṁ vidatheshu Vishṇo pinvatam isho vṛijaneshu Indra | 7. (S. V. 2, 977.) Vashaṭ te Vishṇo āsaḥ ā kṛiṇomi tad me jushasva śipivishṭa havyam | vardhantu tvā sushṭutayo giro me yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ |*

Rudriyāṇāṁ śushmam ugram Marutām śimīvatām | Vishṇor eshasya mīḷhushām | "For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the destructive Maruts; who dispense [the gifts] of the rapid Vishṇu." Dr. Aufrecht considers the interpretation of *esha* very doubtful, and does not see why all three passages should not be referred to Rudra rather than Vishṇu. As, however, they contain the word *Vishṇu*, I have retained them.

[45] Compare *paro-mātram ṛichīshamam Indram*; R. V. viii. 57, 1.

[46] Yajur-veda v. 16 reads *manave*.

"Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men] do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of the earth; thou, divine Vishṇu, knowest the remotest [world]. 2. No one, o divine Vishṇu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.[47] 3. [Ye two worlds] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence to man. Vishṇu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou didst envelop the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye (Indra and Vishṇu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, producing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, o heroes, destroyed in the battles the illusions of the hostile (*dāsa*) Vṛishaśipra. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara; together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the Asura Varchin. 6. This great hymn magnifies you two, the great, the wide-striding, the powerful; Vishṇu, and Indra, I present to you twain a hymn at the sacrifices. Increase my vigour, should [I fall] into calamity. 7. Vishṇu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth. Sipivishta, receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns magnify thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—*Nū martto dayate sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya dāśat | pra yaḥ satrāchā manasā yajāte etāvantaṁ naryam āvivāsat | 2. Tvaṁ Vishṇo sumatiṁ viśvajanyām aprayutām evayāvo matiṁ dāḥ | parcho yathā naḥ suvitasya bhūrer aśvāvataḥ puruśchandrasya rāyaḥ | 3. Trir devaḥ pṛithivīm esha etāṁ vi chakrame śatarchasam mahitvā | pra Vishṇur astu tavasas tavīyān tveshaṁ hi asya sthavirasya nāma | 4. Vi chakrame pṛithivīm esha etāṁ ṛetrāya Vishṇur manushe daśasyan | dhruvāso asya kīrayo janāsaḥ uruxitiṁ sujanimā chakāra | 5.* (S. V. 2, 976; Nir. 5, 9.) *Pra tat te adya śipivishṭa nāma aryaḥ śaṁsāmi vayunāni vidvān | taṁ tvā gṛiṇāmi tavasam atavyān xayantam asya rajasaḥ parāke | 6.* (S. V. 2, 975; Nir. 5, 8.) *Kim it te Vishṇo parichaxyam bhūt*[48] *pra yad vavaxe śipivishṭo asmi | mā varpo asmad apa gūha etad yad anyarūpaḥ samithe babhūtha |* (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to

[47] Compare Isaiah xl. 22; xlv. 12, 18.

[48] The Sāma-veda reads *parichaxi nāma.*

Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishṇu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice this god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishṇu be the strongest of the strong: for awful is the name (power?) of that immoveable [being]. 4. This Vishṇu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a master, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and afar off, reignest over this lower world. 6. What, Vishṇu, hadst thou to conceal, that thou declarest, 'I am S'ipivishṭa?' Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle." [49]

[49] The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: *Purā khalu Vishṇuḥ svaṁ rūpam parityajya kṛitrimaṁ rūpāntaraṁ dhārayan saṅgrāme Vasishṭhasya sāhāyyaṁ chakāra | taṁ jānann ṛishir anayā pratyāchashṭe |* "Vishṇu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishṭha in battle. Recognising the god, the rishi addresses him with this verse." In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yāska quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us, (v. 7) that "Vishṇu has two names, S'ipivishṭa, and Vishṇu, of which, according to Aupamanyava, the former has a bad sense," (*S'ipiviṣṭo Vishṇur iti Vishṇor dve namanī bhavataḥ | kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhavati ity Aupamanyavaḥ*), Yāska quotes verse 6, on which he observes: *Kiṁ te Vishṇo 'prakhyātam etad bhavaty aprakhyāpanīyaṁ yan naḥ prabrūshe | śepa iva nirveshṭito 'smi ity apratipanna-raśmiḥ | api vā praśaṁsā-nāmaiva abhipretaṁ syāt | kiṁ te Vishṇo prakhyātam etad bhavati prakhyāpanīyaṁ yad uta prabrūshe S'ipiviṣṭo 'smi iti pratipanna-raśmiḥ | śipāyo 'tra raśmaya uchyante tair āviṣṭo bhavati | mā varpo asmad apagūha etat | varpa iti rūpa-nāma . . . . . | yad anya-rūpaḥ samithe saṅgrāme bhavasi saṁyata-raśmiḥ |* "What, Vishṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine not to be declared, which thou tellest? 'I am enveloped like a private member,' *i.e.* with rays obscured. Or, by *S'ipiviṣṭa* a laudatory appellation may be intended; 'what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellest? 'I am *S'ipiviṣṭa, i.e.* one whose rays are displayed.' The word '*śipi*' here means 'rays;' with these he is pervaded. 'Do not conceal this form:' *varpas* is a word meaning 'form' . . . . . 'That thou art of another form in the battle (*samithe = saṅgrāme*), with thy rays obscured (?)'" On v. 5, Yāska remarks: Nir, v. 9: "*Tat te 'dya 'Sipiviṣṭa nāma aryaḥ śaṁsāmi*" | *aryyo 'ham asmi īśvaruḥ stomānām | aryyas tvam asi iti vā | taṁ tvā staumi tavasam atavyāṁs tavasa iti mahato nāmadheyam udito bhavati | nivasantam asya rajasaḥ parāke parākrānte |* "'I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipiviṣṭa.' I am *aryaḥ*, a master of songs. Or, thou art a master. 'I, weak, praise thee, the strong.' *Tavas* is a word used for 'great.' 'Dwelling beyond (*parāke = parākrānte*) this lower world.'" In the Mahābhārata,

R. V. viii. 9, 12.—*Yad Indreṇa sarathaṁ yātho Aśvinā yad vā Vāyunā bhavathaḥ samokasā | yad Ādityebhir Ṛibhubhiḥ sajoshasā yad vā Vishṇor vikramaṇeshu tishṭhathaḥ* | "When, Aśvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Adityas and the Ṛibhus, or when ye abide in the strides of Vishṇu."

R. V. viii. 10, 2.— . . . . . *Bṛihaspatiṁ Viśvāndevān ahaṁ huve Indrā-Vishṇū Aśvināv āśu-heshasā* | "I invoke Bṛihaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra and Vishṇu, and the Aśvins with swift steeds."

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—*Yat somam Indra Vishṇavi yad vā ghā Trite Āptye | yad vā Marutsu mandase sam Indubhiḥ | . . . .* 25. *Yad Indra pṛitanāj̃ye devās tvā dadhire puraḥ | ād it te haryatā harī vavaxatuḥ* | 26. *Yadā Vṛittraṁ nadī-vṛitaṁ śavasā vajrinn abadhīḥ | tad ād id ityādi* | 27. *Yadā te Vishṇur ojasā trīṇi padā vichakrame | ād id ityādi* |

"Whether, Indra, thou enjoyest soma, along with Vishṇu, or with Trita Aptya, or with the Maruts, [partake also of our] libations. . . . 25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in their front in the battle, then thy dear steeds grew. 26. When, thunderer, thou didst by thy might slay Vṛittra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew. 27. When by thy force Vishṇu strode three steps, then thy dear steeds grew."

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996 f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—*Tava dyaur Indra pauñsyam pṛithivī vardhati śravaḥ | tvām āpaḥ parvatāsaś cha hinvire* | 9. *Tvāṁ Vishṇur bṛihan xayo*[50] *Mitro gṛiṇāti Varuṇaḥ* |

S'āntiparva, vv. 13229, ff, Krishṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word *S'ipivishṭa* thus; (If the writer intended to represent Yāska as the rishi by whom the word was first applied to Vishṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): *S'ipivishṭeti chākhyāyāṁ hīna-romā cha yo bhavet | tenāvishṭaṁ tu yat kinchich Chhipivishṭeti cha smṛitaḥ | Yāsko nāma ṛishir avyagro naika-yajñeshu gītavān | S'ipivishṭa iti hy asmād guhya-nāma-dharo hy aham | stutvā māṁ S'ipivishṭeti Yāskaḥ saṁshir udāra-dhīḥ | mat-prasādād adho nashṭam Niruktam abhijagmivān* | "A bald man is designated by the word *S'ipivishṭa*. Anything which is penetrated by that (what?) is called *S'ipivishṭha*. Yāska, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this I bear the mysterious name of S'ipivishṭa. Yāska, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as S'ipivishṭa, recovered by my favour the Nirukta, which had been destroyed."

[50] Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders *xaya* by "king." Roth, in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words *bṛihan xayaḥ*

tvāṁ śardho madati anu mārutam | 10. *Tvaṁ vṛishā janānām maṁhiṣṭhaḥ Indra jajñishe* | *satrā viśvā su-apatyāni dadhishe* |

8. "Indra, the sky augments thy manhood, and the earth thy renown. The waters and the mountains stimulate thee. 9. Vishṇu, the high ruler, Mitra, and Varuṇa celebrate thee; the troop of Maruts follows thee with exultation. 10. Thou, Indra, hast been born the greatest fertilizer of beings; thou hast made all things altogether prolific."

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—*Te no nāvam urushyata divā-naktaṁ sudānavaḥ* | *arishyanto ni pāyubhiḥ sachemahi* | 12. *Aghnate Vishṇave vayam arishyantaḥ sudānave* | *śrudhi svayāvan sindho pūrva-chittaye* | 13. (Nir. v. 1) *Tad vāryam vṛiṇīmahe varishṭhaṁ gopayatyam* | *Mitro yat pānti Varuṇo yad Aryamā* | 14. *Uta naḥ sindhur apāṁ tad Marutas tad Aśvinā* | *Indro Vishṇur mīḍhvāṁsaḥ sajoshasaḥ* |

"Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our bard[51] night and day. May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishṇu. Listen, o self-moving ocean, to our early hymn. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aśvins, Indra, and Vishṇu, the beneficent, associated together, [bestow] that."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—*Ā prayāta Maruto Vishṇo Aśvinā Pūshan mākīnayā dhiyā* | *Indra āyātu prathamaḥ sanishyubhir vṛishā yo vṛittrahā gṛiṇe* | "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishṇu, Aśvins, Pūshan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire to honour him, as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛittra."

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vishṇu is mentioned, is interesting from the manner in which the various characteristics of the different gods are succinctly described:

R. V. viii. 29, 1 ff.—*Babhrur eko vishṇuṇaḥ sūnaro yuvā añji ankte hiraṇyayaṁ* | 2. *Yonim eka ā sasāda dyotano antar deveshu medhiraḥ* |

by "high abode, i.e. heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods." He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be *bṛihat-rayaḥ*, "who dwells on high."

[51] Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word *nāvam* is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a masc. noun from the root *nu*, "to praise;" and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as *nāva* is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: *Induṁ nāvāḥ anūshata* | where it must mean "the bards, or hymns, celebrated Indu."

3. *Vāśīm eko bibhartti haste āyasīm antar deveshu nidhrwiḥ* | 4. *Vajram eko bibhartti haste āhitaṁ tena vṛittrāṇi jighnate* | 5. *Tīgmam eko bibhartti haste āyudhaṁ śuchir ugro jalāsha-bheshajaḥ* | 6. *Patha ekaḥ pīpāya taskaro yathā esha veda nidhīnām* | 7. *Tṛīṇi eka urugāyo vi chakrame yatra devāso madanti* | 8. *Vibhir dvā charataḥ ekayā saha pra pravāsā iva vasataḥ* | 9. *Sado dvā chakrāte upamā divi samrājā sarpir-āsutī* | 10. *Archanta eke mahi sāma manvata tena sūryam arochayan* |

"One[52] is a youth, brown, [now] hostile, [now] friendly. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another,[53] luminous, has seated himself on the place of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another[54] holds in his hand an iron axe, firmly placed amid the gods. 4. Another[55] holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he burns to slay his enemies. 5. Another,[56] bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another[57] occupies the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,[58] wide-stepping, strode three [strides, in the regions] where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others][59] ride on horses with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],[60] the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some [of us], worshipping, have meditated the great *sāma*-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine."

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—*Ā śarma parvatānāṁ vṛiṇīmahe nadīnām ā Vishṇoḥ sachā-bhuvaḥ* | "We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishṇu who is associated with them."

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—*Agninā Indreṇa Varuṇena Vishṇunā Ādityaiḥ Rudrair Vasubhiḥ sachā-bhuvā* | *sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha somam pibatam Aśvinā* | 14. *Aṅgirasvantā uta Vishṇuvantā Marutvantā jaritur gachhatho havam ityādi* | "Aśvins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, the Adityas, Rudra, the Vasus,

[52] Soma, as the moon, according to the commentator. M. Langlois thinks the sun is meant. Dr. Aufrecht thinks the troop of Maruts, *Marud-gaṇa*, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet *babhru*, "dark-brown, tawny," is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom it is frequently given.

[53] Agni, according to the commentator. *Atra yonim iti liṅgād Agnir uchyate* |

[54] Tvashṭri. [55] Indra.

[56] Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet *jalāsha-bheshaja* is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called *jalāsha*, "healing."

[57] Pūshan. [58] Vishṇu.

[59] The Aśvins. The goddess is *Ushas*, the dawn. [60] Mitra and Varuṇa.

and associated with Ushas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishṇu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper."

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—*Viśvā it tā Vishṇur ābharad urukramas tvā ishitāḥ | śatam mahishān xīra-pākam odanaṁ varāham Indra emusham |* "The wide-striding Vishṇu, urged by thee, o Indra, carried off all [these things], a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog."

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7), in which Vishṇu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson's note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 70.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—*Adhi na Indra eshāṁ Vishṇo sajātyānām | itā Maruto Aśvinā |* "Remember, Indra, Vishṇu, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—*Sutā Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somā arshanti Vishṇave |* "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—*Suta Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishṇave |* "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—*Tvam Indrāya Vishṇave svādur Indo pari srava | nṛīṇ stotṛīn pāhi aṁhasaḥ |* "Indu, do thou flow sweet to Indra, to Vishṇu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee."

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—*Suta Indrāya Vishṇave somāḥ kalaśe axarat | madhumān astu Vāyave |* "The soma flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishṇu. May it be honied for Vāyu."

R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—*Āpsā Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishṇave |* "Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—*Matsi Soma Varuṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Vishṇum | matsi śarddho Mārutam matsi devān matsi mahām Indram Indo madāya |* "Soma, Indu, purifier, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vishṇu, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts,

thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry."

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—*Somaḥ pavate janitā matīnāṁ janitā divo janitā pṛithivyāḥ | janitā Agnor janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Vishṇoḥ |* "Soma purifies, [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the sky, the generator of the earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Sūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Vishṇu."

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-pariśishṭa, ii. 12: *Somaḥ pavate | somaḥ sūryaḥ prasavanāt | janitā matīnāṁ prakāśa-karmaṇāṁ, āditya-raśmīnāṁ divo dyotana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ pṛithivyā prathana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ Agner gati-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ Sūryasya svīkaraṇa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ Indrasya aiśvaryya-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ Vishṇor vyāpti-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātmam | soma ātmā 'py etasmād evendriyāṇāṁ janitā ity arthaḥ | api vā sarvābhir vibhūtibhir vibhūtata* (?) *ātmā ity ātma-gatim ācashṭe |* "Soma purifies. *Soma* is *sūrya* (the sun), from generating (*prasavanāt*). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the sky, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Sūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (*svīkaraṇa*); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Vishṇu, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations."

R. V. ix. 100, 6 (=S. V. ii. 366).—*Pavasva vāja-sātamaḥ pavitre dhārayā sutaḥ | Indrāya Soma Vishṇave devebhyo madhumattamaḥ |* "Soma, purify, dispenser of much food, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Vishṇu, for the gods, most honied."

R. V. x. 1, 3.—*Vishṇur itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bṛihann abhi pāti tṛitīyam | āsā yad asya payo akrata svaṁ sachetaso abhi archanti atra |* "Vishṇu, the great being, knowing thus his (Agni's)

highest [birth-place], protects his third [birth-place, on earth]. Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face."[61]

R. V. x. 65, 1.—*Agnir Indro Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā Vāyuḥ Pūshā Sarasvatī sajoshasaḥ | Ādityāḥ Vishṇur Marutaḥ svar bṛihat somo Rudro Aditir Brahmaṇaspatiḥ |* "Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sarasvatī, associated together, the Adityas, Vishṇu, the Maruts, the great sky, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Brahmaṇaspati."

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—*Aditir dyāvā-pṛithivī ṛitam mahad Indrā-Vishṇū Marutaḥ Svar bṛihad | devān Ādityān avase havāmahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitāraṁ sudaṁsasam | 5. Sarasvān dhībhir Varuṇo dhṛita-vrataḥ Pūshā Vishṇur mahimā Vāyur Aśvinā | brahma-kṛito amṛitāḥ viśva-vedasaḥ śarma no yaṁsan trivarūtham aṁhasaḥ |*

"We invoke Aditi, heaven and earth, the great rite, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, the great sky, the divine Adityas to our succour, the Vasus, Rudras, and Savitri, whose works are excellent. 5. May Sarasvat, through our prayers, may Varuṇa who upholds pious acts [or, whose ordinances are fixed], Pūshan, Vishṇu the great, Vāyu, the Aśvins, the offerers of prayer, the omniscient immortals, grant us a triple protection from evil."

R. V. x. 92, 11.—*Te hi dyāvā-pṛithivī bhūri-retasā Narāśāṁsaś chaturaṅgo Yamo 'ditiḥ | devas Tvashṭā Draviṇodā Ṛibhukṣaṇaḥ pra rodasī Maruto Vishṇur arhire |* "The prolific heaven and earth, the four-limbed Narāśansa, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvashṭṛi, Draviṇodas, the Ṛibhukṣans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishṇu have been honoured."

R. V. x. 113, 1.—*Tam asya dyāvā-pṛithivī sachetasā viśvebhir devair anu śushmam āvatām | yad. ait kṛiṇvāno mahimānam indriyam pītvī somasya kratumān avardhata | 2. Tam asya Vishṇur mahimānam ojasā aṁśuṁ dadhanvān madhuno vi rapśate | devebhir Indro maghavā sayāvabhir Vṛittraṁ jaghanvān abhavad vareṇyaḥ |* "The concordant heaven and earth, with all the gods, have stimulated that vigour of his. When he went on displaying his energetic greatness, drinking the soma, the powerful god increased. 2. Vishṇu, bringing to him the plant of the soma, celebrates his greatness and might. Indra, the opulent, with the gods attending, having slain Vṛittra, became distinguished."

[61] Compare R. V. i. 95, 3; and x. 45, 1, ff.

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—*Mama devā vihave santu sarve Indravanto Maruto Vishṇur Agnir ityādi* | "May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishṇu, Agni," etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—*Somaṁ rājānam avase 'gniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe*[62] | *Ādityān Vishṇuṁ Sūryam brahmāṇañcha Bṛihaspatim.* | .... 5. (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) *Aryamaṇam Bṛihaspatim Indraṁ dānāya chodaya* | *Vātaṁ Vishṇuṁ Sarasvatīṁ Savitārañcha vājinam* | "We invoke with hymns king Soma, to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and the priest[63] Bṛihaspati. 5. Excite Aryaman, Bṛihaspati, Indra to generosity, and Vāta, Vishṇu, Sarasvatī, and Savitri, giver of food."

R. V. x. 181, 1.—*Prathaścha yasya Saprathaścha nāma ānushṭubhasya haviṣho havir yat* | *Dhātur dyutānāt Savituścha Vishṇoḥ rathantaram ā jabhārā Vasishṭhaḥ* | 2. *Avindan te atihitaṁ yad āsīd yajñasya dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat* | *Dhātur dyutānād Savituścha Vishṇor Bharadvājo bṛihad ā chakre Agneḥ* | 3. *Te 'vindan manasā dīdhyānā yajuḥ shkannam prathamaṁ devayānam* | *Dhātur dyutānād Savituścha Vishṇor ā Sūryād abharan gharmam ete* |

"Vasishtha has received from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, and from Vishṇu, the Rathantara, that which is the offering of the fourfold sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Saprathas are the names. 2. These [sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, and from Vishṇu, the Bṛihat of Agni. 3. Contemplating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended Yajush, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātṛi, Savitṛi, Vishṇu, Sūrya, they brought down Gharma.

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 525, 5).—*Vishṇur yoniṁ kalpayatu Tvashṭā rūpāṇi piṁśatu* | *ā siñchatu Prajāpatir Dhātā garbhaṁ dadhātu te* | "Let Vishṇu form the womb; let Tvashṭṛi mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātṛi form the embryo."

[62] The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā reads *anvārabhāmahe* instead of *gīrbhir havāmahe*.

[63] I hesitate to regard the word *brahman* here as designating the god of that name.

SECT. II.—*Subordinate position occupied by Vishṇu in the hymns of the Rig-veda as compared with other deities.*

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishṇu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. (above p. 55 ff.), I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Śākapūṇi and Aurṇavābha, on the character of Vishṇu. The former regards him as a god who, in his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere, and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Aurṇavābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishṇu's three strides as the rising, the culmination, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4, 5; vi. 49, 13; vii. 100, 3, 4; viii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. ii. 1, 3; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 87, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet "wide-stepping," or "wide-striding," is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god's station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishṇu as taking vast strides. Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishṇu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun and the dawn; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received the homage of Varuṇa; and in R. V. vii. 99, 2, to be beyond mortal comprehension. The attributes ascribed to Vishṇu in some of these passages are such that, if these hymns stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Vishṇu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Vishṇu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in two other texts (R. V. viii. 15, 9, and x. 113, 2) Vishṇu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Vishṇu is said to have been generated by Soma.

. It is also a fact, notorious to all the students of the Rig-veda, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts, the Aśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Vishṇu is celebrated are much fewer, and have all, or nearly all, been adduced in the preceding pages.

The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I have cited, Vishṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities, from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. From this fact, we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities.

Further, the Rig-veda contains numerous texts in which the Rishis ascribe to Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods, the same high and awful attributes and functions which are spoken of in the hymns before cited as belonging to Vishṇu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to shew that, in the Rig-veda, Vishṇu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. If, on the other hand, we look to the large number of texts, in which, as I have just stated, some of the other gods are celebrated, and to the comparatively small number of those in which Vishṇu is exclusively or prominently magnified, we shall come to the conclusion that the latter deity occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient rishis.

I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.

R. V. i. 7, 3—*Indro dīrghāya chaxase ā sūryaṁ rohayad divi ityādi* | "Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar," etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.— . . . . . *ayachyathāḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi ā sūryaṁ dṛiśe* | . . . . . 12. *Tvam asya pāre rajaso vyomanaḥ svabhūty-ojāḥ avase dhṛishan-manaḥ* | *chakṛishe bhūmim pratimānam ojaso 'paḥ svaḥ paribhūr eshi ā divam* | 13. *Tvam bhuvaḥ pratimānam pṛithivyā ṛishva-vīrasya bṛihataḥ patir bhūḥ* | *viśvam āprā antarixam mahitvā satyam addhā nakir anyas tvāvān* | 14. *Na yasya dyāvā-pṛithivī anu vyacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānaśuḥ* | *nota sva-vṛishṭim made asya yudhyata eko anyach chakṛishe viśvam ānushak* |

"Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast placed the sun in the sky to be viewed . . . 12. [Dwelling] on the

further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thyself, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the counterpart[64] of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky, thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast filled[65] the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none other like unto thee.[66] 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its limit,—not when, in his exhilaration, he fought against the appropriator of the rain; thou alone hast made everything else in due succession."

R. V. i. 55, 1.—*Divaś chid asya varimā vi paprathe Indraṁ na mahnā pṛithivī chana prati* | "His vastness is extended even beyond the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness."

R. V. i. 61, 9.—*Asya id eva praririche mahitvaṁ divas pṛithivyāḥ pari antarikṣāt ityādi* | "His greatness transcends the sky, the earth, and surpasses the atmosphere," etc.

R. V. i. 81, 5.—*Ā paprau pārthivaṁ rajo badbadhe rochanā divi* | *na tvāvān Indra kaśchana na jāto na janishyato ati viśvaṁ vavaxitha* | "He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe."

R. V. i. 102, 8.—*Trivishṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmīr nṛipate trīṇi rochanā* | *ati idaṁ viśvam bhuvanaṁ vavaxitha aśatrur Indra janushā sanād asi* | "The three worlds, o king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy."[67]

R. V. i. 103, 2.—*Sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathachcha vajreṇa hatvā nir apaḥ sasarjja* | *ahann Ahim ityādi* | "He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi," etc.

[64] Compare R. V. i. 102, 8; ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word *pratimāna* also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the Second Part of this work, p. 378.

[65] Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 134, 1 (below).

[66] Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).

[67] Compare R. V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).

R. V. i. 121, 2.—*Stambhīd hā dyāṁ ityādi* | 3. . . . . *tastambhad dyāṁ chatushpade naryāya dvipade* | "He has supported the sky, etc. 3. . . . . He has propped up the sky for the four-footed [beasts], and for the two-footed race of man."

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—*Yo jātaḥ eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūshat*[68] | *Yasya śushmād rodasī abhyasetāṁ nṛimṇasya mahnā sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 2. *Yaḥ pṛithivīṁ vyathamānām adṛiṁhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāt* | *yo antarikṣaṁ vimame varīyo yo dyām astabhnāt sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 9. . . . . *Yo viśvasya pratimānam babhūva yo achyuta-chyut sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 13. *Dyāvā chid asmai pṛithivī namete śushmāch chid asya parvatāḥ bhayante ityādi* |

"He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, o men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains; who measured[69] the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, o men, is Indra. 9. . . . He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unshaken, he, o men, is Indra. . . . . The sky and the earth bow down to him; at his might the mountains are afraid," etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—*Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karaṇāni vocham* | *trikadrukeshu apibat sutasya asya made ahim Indro jaghāna* | 2. *Avaṁśe dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam ā rodasī apṛiṇad antarikṣam* | *sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathachcha somasya tā made Indraś chakāra* | 3. *Sadmeva prācho vimamāya mānair vajreṇa khāni atṛiṇad nadīnām ityādi* |

"I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. At the trikadruka festival Indra drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 2. He propped up the vast sky in empty

[68] *Kratumā karmaṇā paryabhavat pāryagṛihṇāt paryaravad atyakrāmad vā . . . . nṛimṇasya mahnā balasya mahattvena.*—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: *iti ṛisher dṛishṭārthasya prītir bhavaty ākhyāna-saṁyuktā* | "Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative."

[69] Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above p. 59 ff.; and R. V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 96).

space;[70] he hath filled the two worlds, and the atmosphere. He hath upheld the earth, and stretched it out. Indra has done these things in the exhilaration of the soma. 3. He hath meted with his measures the eastern [regions], like a house; with his thunderbolt he has opened up the sources of the rivers," etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—*Ni sāmanām ishirām Indra bhūmim mahīm apārām sadane sasattha | astabhnād dyāṁ vṛishabho antarikṣam arshantu āpas tvāyeha prasūtāḥ |* "Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the moving,[71] earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee."

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—*Yajāma id namasā vṛiddham Indram bṛihantam ṛishvam ajaraṁ yuvānam | yasya priye mamatur yajñiyasya na rodasī mahimānam manāte |* 8. *Indrasya karma sukṛitā purūṇi vratāni devā na minanti viśve | dādhāra yaḥ pṛithivīṁ dyām utemāṁ jajāna sūryam ushasaṁ sudaṁsāḥ |* 9. *Adrogha satyaṁ tava tad mahitvaṁ sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somaṁ | na dyāva Indra tavasas te ojo nāhā na māsāḥ śarado varanta*[72] |

"Let us worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the youthful. The beloved[73] worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being.[74] 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou

[70] Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xxvi. 7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

[71] Prof. Roth explains *ishira* as meaning "fresh," "blooming."

[72] Compare R. V. viii. 77, 3: *Na tvā bṛihanto adrayo varante.*

[73] Sāyaṇa explains *priye* as meaning *aparimite*, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.

[74] Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: "his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being." He regards the repetition of the root *mā* "to measure" in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that *mamatuḥ* may be the perfect of *man*, and used for *mamanatuḥ* or *mamnatuḥ*. Compare the aorist *amata*, and *sasavān* for *sasanvān*; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: *Mahān asi yasya te 'nu svadhāvarī sahaḥ | mamnāte Indra rodasī |*

didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty.

R. V. iii. 44, 3.—*Dyām Indro haridhāyasam pṛithivīm harivarpasam | adhārayad ityādi* | "Indra upheld the sky with its golden luminaries, and the earth with its verdant form," etc.

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—*Vavaxe Indro amitam ṛiyīshī ubhe ā prapau rodasī mahitvā | ataś chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvanā babhūva* | "The impetuous[75] Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds."

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛittrahan | nakir eva yathā tvam* | "There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛittra; neither is there any like thee."

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—*Pāprātha xām mahi damso vi ūrvīm upa dyām ṛishvo bṛihad Indra stabhāyaḥ | adhārayo rodasī devaputre pratne mātarā yahvī ṛitasya* | "Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily (?) propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, the productions of the gods, the ancient and mighty parents of sacrifice."

R. V. vi. 30, 4.—*Satyam it tad na tvāvān anyo asti Indra devo na martyo jyāyān ityādi* | "This is a truth, there is no other, god or mortal, like thee, Indra, or greater than thee," etc.

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—*Tvad-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni viśvā achyutā chit chyāvayante. rajāṁsi | dyāvā-xāmā parvatāso vanāni viśvaṁ dṛiḷham bhayate ajmann ā te* | "Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, begin to totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming."

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—*Taṁ vo dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anūshi arkair ityādi* | "I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thee, Indra, born of old, and undecaying."

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—*Ubhe chid Indra rodasī mahitvā ā paprātha tuvishībhis tuvishmaḥ ityādi* | "Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds," etc.

[75] See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *ṛiyīshin*, and Benfey's note 263, on R. V. i. 32, 6, in his "Orient and Occident." The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S. V., p. 162.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—*Tava id Indra avamaṁ vasu tvam pushyasi madhyamam | satrā viśvasya paramasya rājasi nakis tvā goshu vṛiṇvate | . . . . . 22. Abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhāḥ iva dhenavaḥ | īśānam asya jagataḥ svardṛiśam īśānam Indra tasthushaḥ | 23. Na tvāvān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi*[76] |

"Thine, o Indra, is the lowest wealth; thou sustainest the middle; thou rulest over all the very highest; no one resists thee among the cows. . . . 22. We, o heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to thee."

R. V. vii. 98, 3 (=A. V. 20, 87, 3).—. . . . . *Ā Indra paprātha uru antarikṣaṁ yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha | . . . .* "Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired ample space for the gods."[77]

R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—*Indro mahnā rodasī paprathach chhavaḥ Indraḥ sūryam arochayat | Indre ha viśvā bhuvanāni yemire ityādi* |. "The mighty Indra by his power has spread out the two worlds; Indra has lighted up the Sun: in Indra all the worlds are contained," etc.[78]

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1).—*Abhrātṛivyo anā tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi | yudhā id āpitvam ichhase |* "Indra, by thy nature, thou art of old without a rival, without a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance."

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—*Janitā divo janitā pṛithivyāḥ ityādi |* "Generator of the sky, generator of the earth," etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—*Ekarāḍ asya bhuvanasya rājasi ityādi |* "Thou rulest a sole monarch over this world," etc. (Indra).

[76] This entire hymn is translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 543 ff.

[77] The words at the close of this verse occur also in R. V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to *varivaḥ*, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: *aṁhoḥ rājan varivaḥ Pūruve kaḥ |* "Thou affordedst relief to Pūru from his strait." The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, *varivāṁsi kṛiṇvan*. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean "wealth."

[78] In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 2, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: *asyed Indro vāvṛidhe vṛishṇyaṁ śavo made sutasya vishṇavi*; "Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the penetrating exhilaration of this soma." *Vishṇavi*, the word here rendered "penetrating," is the locative case of vishṇu. The commentator of the Vāj. Saṁhitā explains it by *sarva-śarīra-vyāpake*, "That which pervades the whole body." Sāyana, too, makes it=*kṛitsna-dehasya vyāpake |*

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—*Ayujo asamo nṛibhir ekaḥ kṛishṭīr ayāsyaḥ | pūrvīr ati pravāvṛidhe viśvā jātāny ojasā ityādi* | "Without a fellow, unequalled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power former generations,[79] and all creatures."

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—*Yad dyāva Indra te śatañ śatam bhūmīr uta syuḥ | na tvā vajrin sahasraṁ sūryāḥ anu na jātam aṣhṭa rodasī* | "If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could the two worlds attain to thee, when thou hadst been born."

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta Pariśishta i. 1, ff: *Aṭhemā atistutaya ity āchaxate 'pi vā sampratya eva syād mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ | . . Yadi te Indra śataṁ divaḥ śatam bhūmayaḥ pratimānāni syur na tvā vajrin sahasram api sūryā na dyāvā-pṛithivyāv apy abhyaśnuvītām iti* | "Now these [which follow] are what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity." Then, after citing passages referring to Agni and Varuṇa, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: "If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, o thunderer, nor heaven and earth can equal thee."

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—*Nakīm Indro nikarttave na Sakraḥ pariśaktave viśvaṁ śṛiṇoti paśyati* | "Indra is not to be overcome, Śakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things."[80]

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—*Yoddhā 'si kratvā śavasota daṁsanā viśvā jātā abhi majmanā | ā tvā ayam arka ūtaye vavarttati yaṁ Gotamā ajījanan |* 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) *Pra hi viriṇe ojasā divo antebhyas*[81] *pari | na tvā vivyācha raja Indra pārthivam anu svadhāṁ vavaxitha* |

"A warrior, thou surpassest all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed

[79] Dr. Aufrecht explains *pūrvīḥ kṛishṭīḥ* of the races of gods anterior to Indra, the latter deity, like Jupitor, belonging to a recent generation of divinities. See Prof. Roth's articles on the "principal gods of the Arian nations," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society.

[80] This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeits. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.

[81] Instead of *antebhyaḥ* the S. V. reads *sadobhyaḥ*.

the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will."[82]

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—*Yaj jāyathā apūrvya Maghavan Vṛittra-hatyāya | tat pṛithivīm aprathayas tad astabhnā uta dyām | 6. Tat te yajño ajāyata tad arka uta haskṛitiḥ | tad viśvam abhibhūr asi yaj jātaṁ yachcha jantvam |*[83]

"When thou, o unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛittra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, and shall be born."

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—*Yasya te nū chid ādiśaṁ na minanti svarājyaṁ na devo na adhrigur janaḥ |* "Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist."

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—*Na tvā devāsa āśata na martyāso adrivaḥ | viśvā jātāni śavasā abhibhūr asi ityādi |* 10. (S. V. i. 370): *Viśvāḥ pṛitanā abhibhūtaraṁ naraṁ*[84] *sajūs tatasur Indraṁ jajanuś cha rājase | kratvā varishṭaṁ vare*[85] *āmurim utogram ojishṭhaṁ tavasam*[86] *tarasvinam |*

"Thee, o hurler of rocks, neither gods nor mortals have overcome. Thou transcendest in power all creatures, etc. 10. They, united, have formed and generated for dominion the heroic Indra, the vanquisher of all armies, eminent in power to bless (?), destroyer, fierce, strong, vigorous, and swift."

R. V. viii. 87, 2.—*Tvam Indra abhibhūr asi tvaṁ sūryam arochayaḥ | viśvakarmā viśvadevo mahān asi |* "Thou, Indra, art the most powerful; thou hast kindled the sun; thou art great, the architect of all things, and the lord of all."

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—*Kṛitaṁ na śvaghnī vichinoti devane saṁvargaṁ yad Maghavā sūryaṁ jayat | na tat te anyo anu vīryaṁ śakad na purāṇo Maghavan na uta nūtanaḥ |* "When Maghavan

[82] At the end of the verse the S. V. reads *ati viśvam vavaxitha |* "Thou hast transcended the universe." On the sense of *svadhā*, see Roth, Illust. of Nir. pp. 40 f. and 135.

[83] Compare the words *yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhāvyam* in the Purusha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See First Part of this work, p. 7.

[84] The Sāma-veda reads *naraḥ*.

[85] The Sāma-veda reads *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm*.

[86] The Sāma-veda reads *tarasaṁ*.

has conquered spoils[87] from the sun, he is like a gamester who distributes his gains at play.[88] No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can equal thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—*Mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram ataxad āyasam mayi devāso avṛijann api kratum | mama anīkaṁ sūryasya iva dustaram mām āryanti kṛitena kartvena cha* | "Tvaṣṭṛi fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do."

R. V. x. 86, 1 (=A. V. xx. 126, 1).— . . . . *viśvasmād Indraḥ uttaraḥ* | (Repeated at the close of every verse of this hymn.) "Indra is superior to every other."

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Manīshiṇaḥ pra bharadhvam manīshāṁ yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nṛiṇām | Indraṁ satyair erayāmā kṛitebhiḥ sa hi vīro girvaṇasyur vidānaḥ* | 2. *Ṛitasya hi sadaso dhītir adyaut saṁ gārshṭeyo vṛishabho gobhir ānaṭ | ud atishṭhat tavisheṇa raveṇa mahānti chid saṁvivyāchā rajāṁsi* | 3. *Indraḥ kila śrutyai asya veda sa hi jishṇuḥ pathikṛit sūryāya | ād menāṁ kṛiṇvann achyuto bhuvad goḥ patir divaḥ sanajā apratītaḥ* | 4. *Indro mahnā mahato arṇavasya vratā aminād Aṅgirobhir gṛiṇānaḥ | purūṇi chid ni tatāna rajāṁsi dādhāra yo dharuṇaṁ satyatātā* | 5. *Indro divaḥ pratimānam pṛithivyā viśvā veda savanā hanti Śushṇam | mahīṁ chid dyām ā atanot sūryeṇa chāskambha chit skambhanena skabhīyān* |

"Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us by our sincere rites bring hither Indra, for he is a hero, he loves our hymns, and he is wise. 2. The intelligent [god] has shone forth from the abode of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has pervaded the vast regions. 3. Indra surely knows the fame of this. For

[87] Sāyaṇa explains *saṁvargam* as=*saṁyag vṛishṭer varjayitāraṁ* | "discharger of rain." The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: *saṁvargam saṁ rayiṁ jaya* | and he adds that the translation "spoils" is supported by several passages of the Ś. P. Br. *e.g.* i. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): *pitur dāyam upeyuḥ . . . kathaṁ nv imam api saṁvṛiñjīmahi* (Schol. *apaharemahi*). Ibid. *samavṛiñjata, saṁvṛiṅkte.* Ś. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: *sarvaṁ yajñaṁ saṁvṛiya* (=*samāpti-pūrvaṁ saṁhṛitya*). In the R. V. Indra is called *samvṛik samatsu* "the spoiler in battles."

[88] The same comparison occurs in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 7.

he, victorious, immoveable, forming a path for the sun, and creating the female of a bull (?), became, in consequence, the eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra has destroyed the labours of the great streaming [cloud-demon];[89] he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation by truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all sacrifices, slays Śushṇa; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support."[90]

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—*Tvañ sindhūn avāsṛijaḥ adharācho ahann Ahim | aśatrur Indra jajñishe viśvam pushyasi vāryam ityādi* | "Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe; thou possessest all that is desirable," etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (=S. V. i. 379).—*Ubhe yad Indra rodasī āpaprātha ushā iva | mahāntañ tvā mahīnāñ samrājañ charshaṇīnām | devī janitrī ajījanad bhadrā janitrī ajījanat*[91] | "When thou, Indra, like the dawn, didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee, the mighty monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee."

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of a mother.

The two following texts refer to Indra in conjunction with another god:

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—*Indrā-Somā vāsayatha ushāsam ut sūryañ nayatho jyotishā saha | upa dyāñ skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam pṛithivīm mātarañ vi* | "Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to appear, ye make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky with a support,[92] ye have spread out the earth, the mother."

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—*Indrā-Varuṇā yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni bhuvanasya majmanā ityādi* | "Indra and Varuṇa, since ye have made all these creatures of the world by your power," etc.

[89] That this is the allusion in the word *arṇava*, is shown by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—*Indro mahnā mahato arṇavasya vi mūrdhānam abhinad Arbudasya ityādi* | "Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda," etc.

[90] Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.

[91] The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.

[92] Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṇa:

R. V. i. 24, 8.—*Uruṁ hi rajā Varuṇaś chakāra sūryāya panthām anv-etavai u ityādi* | "King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the sun to follow," etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—*Tvaṁ viśveshāṁ Varuṇāsi rājā ye cha devā asura ye cha martiāḥ* | "Thou, divine Varuṇa, art king of all, both of those who are gods, and of those who are men."—Quoted in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—*Ghṛitavatī bhuvanānām abhiśriyā ūrvī pṛithvī madhu-dughe supeśasā* | *dyāvā-pṛithivī Varuṇasya dharmaṇā vishkabhite ajare bhūri-retasā* | "Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures, wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth are held asunder by the support of Varuṇa, undecaying, abundant in fertility."

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—*Dhīrā tu asya mahinā janūṁshi vi yas tastambha rodasī chid urvī* | *pra nākam ṛishvaṁ nunude bṛihantaṁ dvitā naxatram papathach cha bhūma* | "Wise are his creations who by his power propped asunder the two vast worlds. He raised up the high and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth."—This hymn is translated in Müller's Sansk. Lit., pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Radat patho Varuṇaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāṅsi samudriyā nadīnām* | *sargo na sṛishṭo arvatīr ṛitāyan chakāra mahīr avanīr ahabhyaḥ* | 2. *Ātmā te vāto raja ā navīnot paśur na bhūrṇir yavase sasavān* | *antar mahī bṛihatī rodasīme viśvā te dhāma Varuṇa priyāṇi* |

"Varuṇa has opened out paths for the sun, and the aerial courses of the rivers. Like a troop of horses let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind is thy breath, which has agitated the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast grazing in a pasture. Within [thee?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, o Varuṇa, are beloved [or, unlimited]."[38]

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—*Astabhnād dyām Asuro viśvavedā amimīta varimāṇam pṛithivyāḥ* | *āsīdad viśvā bhuvanāni samrāḍ viśvā it tāni Varuṇasya vratāni* | 2. *Evā vandasvā Varuṇaṁ bṛihantaṁ namasyā dhīram amṛitasya gopām* | *sa naḥ śarma trivarūthaṁ viyaṁsad ityādi* |

"The omniscient Spirit (*Asura*) has propped up the sky; he has

[38] See note on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above.

measured[94] the expanse of the earth; he has pervaded all the worlds, the monarch: all these are the achievements of Varuṇa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṇa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he impart to us triple prosperity," etc.

The next texts refer to the Sun (Sūrya, Āditya, or Savitṛi):

R. V. i. 50, 7.—*Vi dyām eshi rajas pṛithv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni Sūrya |* "Thou traversest the sky, the broad expanse, measuring (forming?) the days with thy rays; beholding created things, o Sun."

R. V. i. 160, 4.—*Ayaṁ devānām apasām apastamo yo jajāna rodasī viśvaśambhuvā | vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā ajarebhiḥ skambhanebhiḥ samānṛiche |* "He, the most active of the active gods, who produced the heaven and earth which are beneficent to all; who from a desire to benefit [men] measured (constructed?) the worlds, with their undecaying supports,—he has been lauded [by us]."[95]

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (=S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—*Baḍ mahān asi Sūrya baḍ Āditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate addhā deva mahān asi | Baṭ Sūrya śravasā mahān asi satrā deva mahān asi | mahnā devānām asuryaḥ purohito vibhu jyotir adābhyam |*

"Verily, Sūrya, thou art great; verily, Āditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, Sūrya, thou art great in renown: o god, thou art very great; through thy greatness thou art the divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary."

R. V. x. 149, 1.—*Savitā yantraiḥ pṛithivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adṛiṁhat | aśvam iva adhuxad dhunim antarixam atūrtte baddhaṁ Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudraḥ skabhito vi-aunad apāṁ napāt Savita tasya veda | ato bhūr ata ā utthitaṁ rajo ato dyāvā-pṛithivī aprathetām |*

"Savitṛi has established the earth by supports; Savitṛi has fixed the sky in unsupported space;[96] Savitṛi has milked the atmosphere,

[94] See above, p. 61.

[95] See R. V. x. 111, 5, and vi. 72, 2.

[96] In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent S'esha, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vishṇu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, p. 206): *Sa bibhrat śekharībhūtam aśeshaṁ xiti-maṇḍalam | āste pātāla-mūla-sthaḥ S'esho 'śesha-surārchitaḥ |* "S'esha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth like a diadem, and is

restless (or noisy) as a horse, [or, Savitṛi has extracted from the atmosphere the ocean, etc., restless as a horse],—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitṛi, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended."

The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: *Savitā yantraiḥ pṛithivīm aramayat | anārambhaṇe 'ntarikṣe Savitā dyām adṛiṁhad aśvam iva adhukṣad dhunim antarikṣe megham baddham atūrtte baddham atūrṇe iti vā 'tvaramāṇe iti vā Savitā samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avakṣyat | Ādityo 'pi Savitā uchyate.* "Savitri by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitri has fixed the sky like a horse in the place which has no resting place (?)—the atmosphere. Savitri has milked the watery cloud fastened in the atmosphere, the impassable, or the unhastening. What other god than the intermediate one (*i.e.* the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitri."

the foundation of Pātāla." The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-Siromaṇi, iii. 2: *Bhūmeḥ piṇḍaḥ śaśāṅka-jña-kavi-ravi-kujejyārki-nakṣatra-kakṣāvṛittair vṛitaḥ san mṛid-anila-salila-vyoma-tejomayo 'yam | nānyādhāraḥ sva-śaktyaiva viyati niyataṁ tiṣṭhati ityādi | . . . . 4. Mūrtto dharttā ched dharitryās tad-anyas tasyāpyanyo 'syaivam atrānavasthā | antye kalpyā chet sva-śaktiḥ kim ādye kim no bhūmir ityādi* | which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibl. Indica (new series), No. 13: "2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the æther, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danujas and human beings, gods and Daityas." . . . "4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, *i.e.* of Śiva?" Aryya Bhatta, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, ii. p. 392) are these: *Bha-pañjaraḥ sthiro bhūr evāvṛityāvṛitya prātidaivasikāv udayāstamayau sampādayati nakṣatra-grahāṇām* | "The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets."

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse: "Savitri has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed." (In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to *dhuni* the sense of "*sounding.*") He then observes: "According to Yāska the Savitri who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain."

The following passages refer to Agni:

R. V. i. 59, 5.—*Divaś chit te bṛihato Jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā kṛishṭīnām asi mānushīṇāṁ yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha |* "Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures; by battle thou hast obtained an ample space for the gods."

R. V. i. 67, 3.—*Ajo na xāṁ dādhāra pṛithivīṁ tasthambha dyāṁ mantrebhiḥ satyair ityādi |* "Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth; he supported the sky with true hymns," etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya:

R. V. vii. 101, 4.—*Yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthus tisro dyāvas tredhā sasrur āpa ityādi |* 6. *Sa retodhā vṛishabhaḥ śaśvatīnāṁ tasminn ātmā jagataś tastushaścha |* (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1). "He in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 6. He is the bull that impregnates all the cows: in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world."

This next passage refers to the god called Gandharva:

R. V. x. 139, 5.— . . . *Divyo Gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ |* "The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world," etc.

The last set of passages which I shall adduce celebrate the greatness of Soma:

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (=S. V. 1, 484).—*Pavamāno ajījanad divaś chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛihat |* "The purifier [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky."

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—*Tavemāḥ prajā divyasya retasas tvaṁ viśvasya bhuvanasya rājasi | athedaṁ viśvam pavamāna te vaśe tvam Indo prathamo dhāmadhā asi |* 29. *Tvaṁ samudro asi viśvavit kave tavemāḥ pañcha pradiśo vidharmaṇi | tvaṁ dyāṁ cha pṛithivīṁ chāti jabhrishe tava*

jyotīṁshi pavamāna sūryaḥ | 30. *Tvam pavitre rajaso vidharmaṇi devebhyaḥ soma pavamāna pūyase* | *tvām Uśijaḥ prathamā agṛibhṇata tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni yemire* |

"All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purifier, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. Thou, sage, art an omniscient ocean; all these five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast transcended the sky and the earth; thine, o purifier, are the luminaries and the sun. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Uśijes first gathered thee. In thee all these worlds are contained."

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—*Vishṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛithivyā viśvā uta xitayo haste asya ityādi* | "He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand."

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 81), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—*Pavitrebhiḥ pavamāno nṛichaxāḥ rājā devānām uta marttyānām ityādi* | "[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods, and of mortals," etc.

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—*Pavamāna mahi śravaś chitrebhir yāsi raśmibhiḥ*[97] | *śarddhan tamāṅsi jighnase viśvāni dāśusho gṛihe* | 9. *tvaṁ dyāṁ cha mahivrata pṛithivīṁ chāti jabhrishe ityādi* | "Thou, pure [Soma], marchest onward to great renown, by thy varied rays; daring, thou willest to destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever of great deeds, hast transcended heaven and earth," etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.— . . . *tvaṁ kavir abhavo deva-vītamaḥ ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi* | "Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast caused the sun to rise in the sky."

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 591).—*Pavasva soma mahān samudraḥ pitā devānāṁ viśvā abhi dhāma* | "Purify all abodes, Soma, [who art] a great ocean, the father of the gods," etc.

The preceding texts are amply sufficient to show that Vishṇu is not the only god to whom the highest divine functions are ascribed in the Veda, but that, on the contrary, the same attributes are assigned, and with far greater frequency, to several of the other deities.

The following passage from Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit

[97] Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1: *Sanā cha Soma jeshi cha pavamāna mahi śravaḥ* | and ix. 83, 5: *Jayan śravo bṛihat* |

Literature (p. 532 f.) shews that all the principal Vedic deities are, in their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme:

"When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. 'Among you, o gods, there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great indeed,'[98] is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and no where is any of the gods represented as the slave of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe,[99] the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;[100] nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book[101] is: *Viśvasmād Indra uttaraḥ* | 'Indra is greater than all.' Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.[102] He is called the king of the world,[103] he has the power to prolong the life of men,[104] and in one sense he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu.[105] If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa

[98] R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.
[99] "*Tvaṁ viśvāni svanīka patyase* | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Pariśishṭa i.
[100] ii. 1, 9. [101] x. 8, 6. [102] ix. 59.
[103] ix. 96, 10: *bhuvanasya rājā*. [104] ix. 96, 14.
[105] ix. 96, 5.

(*οὐρανός*), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mitra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mitra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: 'Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.' Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), 'Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,'" etc., etc.

SECT. III.—*Vishṇu as one of the Ādityas.*

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Vishṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.[106] The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject:

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir. xii. 36).—*Imā giraḥ Ādityebhyo ghṛitasnūḥ sanād rājabhyo juhvā juhomi | śṛiṇotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tuvijāto Varuṇo Daxo Aṁśaḥ |* "With my tongue I offer up these praises, dropping with butter, to the Ādityas, who have been kings for ever: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Daxa, Aṅśa, hear us." Yāska makes *tuvijātaḥ* to be=*bahujātaś cha Dhātā*, thus understanding it to designate Dhātṛi.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—*Sapta diśo nānā-sūryāḥ sapta hotāra ṛitvijaḥ | devā Ādityā ye sapta tebhiḥ Somābhiraxa naḥ |* "The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven *hotṛi* priests, and the seven gods, the Adityas,—with these, o Soma, protect us."

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 10 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Mārttāṇḍa, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Sāyaṇa observes of the Ādityas: *Te cha Taittirīye 'ashṭau*

[106] See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Āditya*: and Prof. Roth's dissertation on the Adityas in his paper "on the principal gods of the Arian nations," Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff. Sūrya (the Sun) is however called *Āditeya* in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).

putrāso Aditer' ity upakramya spashṭam anukrāntāḥ | 'Mitraścha Varuṇaścha Dhātācha Aryamācha Aṁśuścha Bhagaścha Indraścha Vivasvāṁś cha ete' iti | "They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittirīya, beginning with the words 'The eight sons of Aditi,' as 'these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.'"

In a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 12, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—*Sa manasaiva vācham mithunaṁ samabhavat sa dvādaśa drapsān garbhy abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityā asṛijyanta tān divy upādadhāt* | "With his mind he [entered] Speech. There became a pair. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the sky."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ar. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). *Katame Ādityā iti | dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya ete Ādityāḥ | ete hi idāṁ sarvam ādadānā yanti | te yad idaṁ sarvam ādadānā yanti tasmād Ādityā iti* | "How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go *taking* (*ādadānāḥ*) all this. Since they go *taking* all this, they are called *Ādityas*."

The Nirukta, ii. 13, speaks thus of the Ādityas: *Ādityaḥ | kasmād | ādatte rasān | ādatte bhāsaṁ jyotishām | ādīpto bhāsā iti vā | Aditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayogaṁ tu asya etad ārchābhyāmnāye sūkta-bhāk "sūryam āditeyam" Aditeḥ putram | evam anyāsām api devatānām Ādityapravādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā etad | Mitrasya Varuṇasya Aryamṇo Daxasya Bhagasya Aṁśasya iti* |

"The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids.[107] He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (*ādīptaḥ*) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom

[107] *Sahasra-guṇam utsrashṭum ādatte hi rasān raviḥ* | "For the sun *takes up the fluids* [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold."—Raghuvansa, i. 18. *Ashṭau māsān yathā "dityas toyaṁ harati raśmibhiḥ | tathā haret karaṁ rāshṭrād nityam arkavratam hi tat* | "As Āditya (the sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function."—Manu, ix. 305.

applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. *Sūrya Āditeya*, Surya the son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn.[108] In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Daxa, Bhaga, Anśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Puraṇas, the Adityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only eleven are specified. Vishṇu is always named as one of them, and as by the time when these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu imāḥ prajāḥ | prajajñire mahābhāgā Daxa-kanyās trayodaśa | . . . .* 2,522. *Adityāṁ dvādaśādityāḥ sambhūtā bhuvaneśvarāḥ | yé rājan nāmatas tāṁs té kīrttayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro 'ryamā Śakro Varuṇas tv Aṁśa evacha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūshā cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvashṭā dvādaśo Vishṇur uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarveshām Ādityānāṁ guṇādhikaḥ |*

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Daxa . . . 2,522. I will recount to thee, by name, king of the race of Bharata, the twelve Adityas, lords of the world, who were produced from Aditi; Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, Śakra (Indra), Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pūshaṇ, and Savitṛi the tenth; the eleventh is Tvashṭṛi, and the twelfth is called Vishṇu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Adityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Surāsurāḥ | jajñire nṛipa-śārddūla lokānām prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . . .* 2,600. *Dvādaśaivāditoḥ putrāḥ Śakra-mukhyā narādhipa | teshām avarajo Vishṇūr yatra lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ |*

"From Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marīchi, were produced, o king, the deities and the Asuras; and he was the source from which all

[108] Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word *sūkta-bhāk* should be read *asūkta-bhāk* "has *not* a hymn devoted to him;" as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse, R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illust. p. 21), says: *sūkta-bhāg eva chaitad abhidhāṇaṁ na havirbhāk |* "This appellation has a hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this name]." By "hymn" Durga may only mean part of a hymn.

beings sprang. . . . 2,600. Aditi had twelve sons, beginning with Śakra. The youngest of them was Vishṇu, on whom the worlds are supported."

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—*Aṁśo Bhagaścha Mitraścha Varuṇaścha jaleśvaraḥ | tathā Dhātā 'ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaras tathā | Tvashṭā Pūshā tathaivendro dvādaśo Vishṇur uchyate | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ Kāśyapeyā iti śrutiḥ |*

"Aṅśa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Jayanta, Bhāskara, Tvashṭṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Vishṇu who is called the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, *śruti*)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—*Axayaś chāvyayaś chaiva Brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ | tathaiva bhagavantau tau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛiśhī | Ādityānāṁ hi sarveshāṁ Vishṇur ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayyaś chāvyayaś chaiva śāśvataḥ prabhur īśvaraḥ | nimitta-maraṇāś chānye chandra-sūrya-mahījalam | Vāyur agnis tathā "kāśaṁ grahās tārā-gaṇās tathā | te cha xayānte jagato hitvā lokā-trayaṁ sadā | xayaṁ gachhanti vai sarve sṛijyante cha punaḥ punaḥ | muhūrtta-maraṇās tv anye mānushā mṛiga-paxiṇaḥ |* "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Ṛishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Vishṇu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—[109] the moon, the sun, the earth, water,[110] air, fire, the æther, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (*muhūrtta*)."

Vishṇu Purāṇa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (p. 122 of Wilson's translation)—*Pūrva-manvantare śreshṭhā dvādaśāsaṅ surottamāḥ | Tushitā nāma te 'nyonyam ūchur Vaivasvate 'ntare | upasthite 'tiyaśasaś Chāxushasyāntare Manoḥ | samavāyīkṛitāḥ sarve samāgamya parasparam | Āgachhata drutaṁ devāḥ Aditiṁ sampraviśya vai | Manvantare prasūyāmas tan naḥ śreyo bhaved iti | evam uktvā tu te sarve Chāxushasyāntare Manoḥ | Mārīchāt Kāśya-*

[109] I suppose *nimitta-maraṇāḥ* is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 56, 630, and note. Nārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: *Nimittam pralayādi-nimittam maraṇaṁ nāśo yeshāṁ te nimitta-maraṇāḥ |*

[110] Said in the Rāmāyaṇa to have *preceded* Brahmā.—See above, p. 29. See also above, the order of creation described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 19–22, and in Manu, p. 26 above.

pāṇi jātās te 'dityā Daxa-kanyayā | tatra Vishṇuścha Śakraścha jajñāte punar eva hi | Aryamā chaiva Dhātācha Tvashṭā Pūshā tathaiva cha | Vivasvān Savitā chaiva Mitro Varuṇa eva cha | Aṁśo Bhagaś chātitejā Ādityā dvādaśa smṛitāḥ | Chāxushasyāntare pūrvam āsan ye Tushitāḥ smṛitāḥ | Vaivasvato 'ntare te vai Ādityā dvādaśa smṛitāḥ |

"In the former Manvantara there were twelve eminent and renowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chāxusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, 'Come quickly, deities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.' Having thus spoken in the Chāxusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, and Aditi, daughter of Daxa. In this way Vishṇu, and Śakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātri, Tvashṭṛi, Pūshan, Vivasvat, Savitṛi, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chāxusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara."

The same story is repeated in very nearly the same words in the Harivaṁśa, verses 171 ff.

The following is another passage from the Harivaṁśa, verses 11,548 ff: *Adityāṁ jajñire rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Vishṇur Bhagas Tvashṭā Varuno 'ṁśo 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūshā Mitraścha varado Manuḥ Parjanya eva cha | ity ete dvādaśādityā varishṭhās tridivaukasaḥ |* "From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas, Indra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Tvashṭṛi, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, Aryaman, Kavi, Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials."

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: *Aryamā Varuṇo Mitraḥ Pūshā Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Tvashṭā Bhago 'ṁśaḥ Savitā Parjanyaścheti viśrutāḥ | Adityaṁ jajñire devāḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhāvanaḥ |* "The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātṛi, Purandara (Indra), Tvashṭṛi, Bhaga, Aṁśa, Savitṛi, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi."

Only *eleven* names occur in this list.

The next is another legend on the same subject from the same work. Here quite a different origin is assigned to the Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Vivasvat or Mārttaṇḍa, the Sun.

Harivaṁśa, 589 ff.—*Tato nirbhāsitaṁ rūpaṁ tejasā saṁhatena vai | kāntāt kāntataraṁ drashṭum adhikaṁ śuśubhe tadā | mukhe nirvarttitaṁ rūpaṁ tasya devasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āsīt tu lohitam | mukha-rāgantu yat pūrvam Mārttaṇḍasya mukha-chyutam | Ādityā dvādaśaiveha sambhūtā mukha-sambhavāḥ | Dhātā 'ryamā cha Mitraścha Varuṇo 'ṁśo Bhagas tathā | Indro Vivasvān Pūshā cha Parjanyo daśamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭā tato Vishṇur ajaghanyo jaghanyajaḥ | harshaṁ lebhe tato devo dṛishtvā "dityān sva-deha-jān |* "Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red. From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārttaṇḍa were produced twelve face-born Adityas: Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭṛi, then Vishṇu not the last, though the last born. The god then rejoiced, beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body."

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the Adityas being sons of Aditi, but it contradicts itself. *Vivasvat* is one of the Ādityas, who is produced from *Vivasvat;* and Tvashṭṛi was already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend. (See Langlois's note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the Harivaṅśa). The Vishṇu Purāṇa tells the same story about Vivasvat, but says nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson's translation, p. 266).

Bhāgavata Purāṇa vi. 6, 24 f.—*Śṛiṇu nāmāni lokānām mātṛīṇāṁ śaṁkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patnīnāṁ yat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | Aditir Ditir ityādi | . . . .* 36 f. *Athātaḥ śrūyatāṁ vaṁśo yo 'diter anupūrvaśaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo svāṁśenāvātarad vibhuḥ | Vivasvān Aryamā Pūshā Tvashtā 'tha Savitā Bhagaḥ | Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Mitraḥ Śakra Urukramaḥ |*

"Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kaśyapa, the mothers of the worlds, from whom this universe was produced; Aditi, Diti, etc. . . . . 36 f. Hear now, in order, the race of Aditi, in which the all-pervading god, Nārāyaṇa descended in a part of himself,—Vivasvat, Aryaman, Pūshan, Tvashṭṛi, Savitṛi, Bhaga, Dhātṛi, Vidhātṛi, Varuṇa, Mitra, Śakra, Urukrama (the wide-strider = Vishṇu)."

SECT. IV.—*Legends regarding Vishṇu from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.*

The following legend from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (in which Vishṇu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of sacrifice, conquered the whole earth) may contain the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—*Devāścha vā Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire | tato devā anuvyam iva āsur | atha ha Asurā menire 'āsmakam eva idaṁ khalu bhuvanam' iti | 2. Te ha ūchur 'hanta imām pṛithivīṁ vibhajāmahai tāṁ vibhajya upajīvāma' iti | tām auṇṇaiś charmabhiḥ paśchāt prāñcho vibhajamānā abhīyuḥ | 3. Tad vai devāḥ śuśruvur 'vibhajante ha vai imām Asurāḥ pṛithivīm preta tad eshyāmo yatra imām Asurā vibhajante | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi' iti | te yajñam eva Vishṇum puraskṛitya īyuḥ | 4. Te ha ūchuḥ 'anu no 'syām pṛithivyām ābhajata astv eva no 'py asyām bhāgaḥ' iti | te 'surāḥ asūyanta iva ūchur 'yāvad eva esha Vishṇur abhiśete tāvad vo dadmaḥ' iti | 5. Vāmano ha Vishṇur āsa | tad devā na jihīḍire 'mahad vai no 'dur ye no yajña-sammitam adur' iti | 6. Te prāñchaṁ Vishṇuṁ nipādya chhandobhir abhitaḥ paryagṛihṇan 'gāyatreṇa tvā chhandasā parigṛihṇāmi' iti dakṣiṇatas | 'traishṭubhena tvā chhandasā parigṛihṇāmi' iti paśchāt | 'jāgatena tvā chhandasā parigṛihṇāmi' iti uttarataḥ | 7. Taṁ chhandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛihya agnim purastāt samādhāya tena archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | tena imāṁ sarvām pṛithivīṁ samavindanta | tad yad enena (anena?) imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta taśmād vedir nāma | tasmād āhur 'yāvatī vedis tāvatī pṛithivī' iti | etayā hi imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta | evaṁ ha vai imāṁ sarvāṁ sapatnānām saṁvṛiṅkte nirbhajaty asyai sapatnān yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So 'yaṁ Vishṇur glānaś chhandobhir itaḥ parigṛihīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṇam āsa | sa tata eva oshadhīnām mūlāny upa mumlocha | 9. Te ha devāḥ ūchuḥ 'kva nu Vishṇur abhūt kva nu yajño 'bhūd' iti | te ha ūchuś 'chhandobhir itaḥ parigṛihīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṇam asty atraiva anvichhata iti taṁ khananta iva anvīkshus taṁ tryaṅgule*

'nvavindaṁs tasmāt tryaṅgulā vediḥ syāt | tad u ha api Pāñchis tryaṅgulām eva saumyasya adhvarasya vediṁ chakre | 10. Tad u tathā na kuryād ityādi |

"The gods and Asuras, who were both sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. Then the gods were, as it were, worsted, and the Asuras thought, 'this world is now certainly ours.' 2. Then they spake, 'Come let us divide this earth, and having divided it, let us subsist thereon.' They accordingly went on dividing it with ox-hides from west to east. 3. The gods heard of it, [and] said, 'The Asuras are dividing this earth; come, we shall go to the spot where they are dividing it. Who shall we become (i.e. what shall become of us), if we do not share in it?' Placing at their head Vishṇu, the sacrifice, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said 'put us in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.' The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, 'We give you as much as this Vishṇu can lie upon.' [111] 5. Now, Vishṇu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], 'They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.' Then having placed Vishṇu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, 'I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;' on the west, 'I surround thee with the Trishṭubh metre;' on the north, 'I surround thee with the Jagatī metre.' 7. Having thus surrounded him with metres, they placed Agni (fire) on the east, and thus they went on worshipping and toiling. By this they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this they acquired (*samavindanta*) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called *vedi* (from the root *vid*, 'to acquire).' Hence men say, 'as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;' for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, conquers all this [earth] from rivals, expels from it rivals. 8. Then this Vishṇu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, 'What has become of Vishṇu? what has become of the sacrifice?' They said, 'Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.' So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let

[111] Compare with this legend the similar one quoted above in the note on R. V. vi. 69, 8 (p. 72 f.) from the Aitareya Brahmaṇa, 6, 15.

the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, *Pāñchi*[112] made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so," etc.

The next legend from the same work relates how Vishṇu became pre-eminent among the gods, and how he lost his head. Here also he is identified with sacrifice:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—*Devā ha vai sattraṁ nishedur Agnir Indraḥ Somo Makho Vishṇur viśve-devā anyatraiva Aśvibhyām* | 2. *Teshāṁ Kuruxetraṁ devayajanam āsa* | *tasmād āhuḥ 'Kuruxetraṁ devānāṁ devayajanam' iti* | *tasmād yatra kva cha Kuruxetrasya nigachhati tad eva manyate 'idaṁ devayajanam' iti tad hi devānāṁ devayajanam* | 3. *Te āsata* | *'śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma' iti tatho evame sattram āsate 'śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādaḥ syāma' iti* | 4. *Te ha ūchur 'yo naḥ śrameṇa tapasā śraddhayā yajñena āhutibhir yajñasya udṛicham pūrvo 'vagachhāt sa naḥ śreshṭho 'sat tad u naḥ sarveshāṁ saha' iti 'tathā' iti* | 5. *Tad Vishṇuḥ prathamaḥ prāpa* | *sa devānāṁ śreshṭho 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'Vishṇur devānāṁ śreshṭhaḥ iti* | 6. *Sa yaḥ sa Vishṇur yajñaḥ sa* | *sa yaḥ sa yajño 'sau sa Ādityaḥ* | *tad ha idaṁ yaśo Vishṇur na śaśāka saṁyantum* | *tad idam apy etarhi naiva sarva iva yaśaḥ śaknoti saṁyantum* | 7. *Sa tisṛi-dhanvam ādāya apachakrāma* | *sa dhanur-ārtnyā śiraḥ upastabhya tasthau* | *taṁ devā anabhidhṛishṇuvantaḥ samantam pariṇyavishanta* | 8. *Tā ha vamrya ūchuḥ* | *imā vai vamryo yad upadīkāḥ* | *'yo 'sya jyām apyadyāt kim asmai prayachheta' iti 'annādyam asmai prayachhema api dhanvann apo 'dhigachhet tathā asmai sarvam annādyam prayachhema' iti* | 9. *Tasya upaparāsṛitya jyām apijaxus tasyāṁ chhinnāyāṁ dhanur-ārtnyau vishphurantyau Vishṇoḥ śiraḥ prachichhidatuḥ* | 10. *Tad ghriṇṇ iti papāta* | *tat patitvā 'sāv Ādityo 'bhavat* | *atha itaraḥ prāṇ eva prāvṛijyata* | *tad yad ghriṇṇ ity apatat tasmād gharmaḥ* | *atha yat prāvṛijyata tasmād pravargyaḥ* | 11. *Te devāḥ abruvan* | *'mahān vata no vīro 'pādi' iti tasmād mahāvīraḥ* | *tasya yo raso vyaxarat tam pāṇibhiḥ sammamṛijus tasmāt samrāṭ* | 12. *Taṁ devā abhyamṛijyanta yathā vittiṁ vetsyamānā evaṁ* | *tam Indraḥ prathaṇyaḥ prāpa* | *tam anvaṇgam anunyapad-*

[112] *Pāñchiḥ soma-yāgasyāpi vediṁ tryaṇgula-khātām eva mene* | "Pānchi thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep." Pānchi is again mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 2, 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Mādhuki, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āsuri-prabhṛitayas trayo munayaḥ). See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 192, 434.

yata | tam paryagṛihṇāt | tam parigṛihya idaṁ yaśo 'bhavad yad idam Indro yaśaḥ | yaśo ha bhavati ya evaṁ veda | 13. Sa u eva makhaḥ sa Vishṇuḥ | tata Indro makhavān abhavad | makhavān ha vai tam Maghavān ity ācharate paroxam | paroxa-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ | 14. Tābhyo vamrībhyo 'nnādyam prāyachhan | āpo vai sarvam annaṁ tābhir hi idam abhiknūyam iva adanti | yad idam kiṁvadanti | 15. Atha imaṁ Vishṇuṁ yajñaṁ tredhā vyabhajanta | . . . . . tena apaśīrshṇā yajñena devā archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ |

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishṇu the Sacrifice, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Aśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kuruxetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that Kuruxetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to whatever part of Kuruxetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place for divine worship, since it was the spot where the gods worshipped. 3. They were [there. They said], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' And in the very same way these [men] attend a sacrifice [saying], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' 4. Then [the gods] said, 'Whoever among us, through exertion, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us: this [shall be] common to us all.' [To this they consented, saying], 'Be it so.' 5. Vishṇu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most eminent of the gods: wherefore men say, 'Vishṇu is the most eminent of the gods.' 6. He who is this Vishṇu is sacrifice; he who [is] this sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishṇu could not support this fame.[113] And the same is the case now, that every one cannot support fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood, resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to overcome him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to them (now the ants were the same as *upadīkas*), 'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?' [The gods replied], 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters even in the desert; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.' 9. [The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was divided, the ends of the bow, starting asunder,

[113] It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word *yaśaḥ*, "fame," having reference to the words *sa yaḥ sa* Vishṇuḥ, etc., *sa yaḥ sa* yajñaḥ, etc. "He *who* [is] *this* Vishṇu," etc. "He *who* [is] *this* sacrifice," etc.

cut off the head of Vishṇu. 10. It fell, making a sound (*ghṛiṇ*). That having fallen, became that Aditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east. Since the head fell with the sound of *ghṛiṇ*, hence *gharma*, ['the sacrificial kettle,' received its name]; and since he became extended, (*prāvṛiyata*), the *pravargya* [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (*mahān vīraḥ*) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of *mahāvīra* (a sacrificial vessel).[114] They wiped (*sammamṛijuḥ*) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of *samrāṭ*. 12. The gods touched (?) him (Vishṇu), as men wishing to know property (?) do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishṇu was indeed sacrifice (*makha*). Hence Indra became the possessor of sacrifice (*makhavān*). He is *Makhavān:* they call him *Maghavān* transcendentally; for the gods love what is transcendental (*lit.* beyond the reach of the senses). 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishṇu, the sacrifice. . . . . With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling."

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittirīya Araṇyaka, and the second from the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, which both relate the same legend which has just been given from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, v. i. 1–7.—1. *Devā vai satram āsata ṛiddhi-parimitaṁ yaśaskāmāḥ | te 'bruvan "yan naḥ prathamaṁ yaśa ṛichhāt sarveshāṁ nas tat sahāsad" iti | teshāṁ kuruxetraṁ vedir āsīt | tasyai Khaṇḍavo daxiṇārdha āsīt Tūrghnam uttarārdhaḥ Parīṇaj jaghanārdho Marava utkaraḥ | 2. teshām Makhaṁ Vaishṇavaṁ yaśa ārohhat | tad ṇyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | taṁ devā anvāyan yaśo 'varurutsamānāḥ | tasya anvāgatasya savyād dhanur ajāyata daxiṇād ishavaḥ | tasmād ishudhanvam puṇya-janma yajña-janma hi | 3. tam ekaṁ santam bahavo na abhyadhṛishṇuvan | tasmād ekam ishudhanvaṁ vīram bahavo 'nishudhanvā na abhidhṛishṇuvanti | so 'smayata "ekam mā santam bahavo na abhy-*

[114] A long account is given of the *gharma, pravargya,* and *mahavīra* in Katyāyāna's Śrauta Sūtras, xxvi.

adharshishur" iti | tasya sishmīyāṇasya tejo 'pākrāmat | tad devāḥ oshadhīshu nyamṛijuḥ | te śyāmākā abhavan | smayākā vai nāma ete | 4. tat smayākānāṁ smayākatvam | tasmād dīxitena apigṛihya smetavyaṁ tejaso dhṛityai | sa dhanuḥ pratiskabhya atishṭhat | tā upadīkā abruvan | "varaṁ vṛiṇāmahai | atha vā imaṁ randhayāma | yatra kva cha khanāma tad apo 'bhiṭṛiṇadāma" iti | tasmād upadīkā yatra kva cha khananti tad apo 'bhiṭṛindanti | 5. varavṛitaṁ hy āsām | tasya jyām apyādan | tasya dhanur vipravamāṇaṁ śira udavarttayat | tad dyāvāpṛithivī anuprāvarttata | yat prāvarttata tat pravargyasya pravargyatvam | yad ghrāṁ ity apatat tad gharmasya gharmatvam | mahato vīryam apaptad iti tad mahāvīrasya mahāvīratvam | 6. yad asyāḥ samabharaṁs tat samrājaḥ samrāṭtvam | taṁ stṛitaṁ devatās tredhā vyagṛihṇata | Agniḥ prātaḥsavanam Indro mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ Viśvedevās tṛitīya-savanam | tena apaśīrshṇā yajñena yajamānāḥ na āśisho 'vārundhata na suvargaṁ lokam abhyajayan | te devā Aśvināv abruvan | 7. "bhishajau vai sthaḥ | idaṁ yajñasya śiraḥ pratidhattam" iti | tāv abrūtāṁ "varaṁ vṛiṇāvahai graha eva nāv atrāpi gṛihyatām" iti | tābhyām etam āśvinam agṛihṇan | tāv etad yajñasya śiraḥ pratyadhattaṁ yat pravargyaḥ | tena saśīrshṇā yajñena yajamānā ava āśisho 'rundhata | abhi suvargaṁ lokam ajayan | yat pravargyam praviṇakti yajñasyaiva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhāti | tena saśīrshṇā yajñena yajāmāno 'va āśisho rundhe 'bhi suvargaṁ lokāṁ jayati | tasmād esha āśvina-pravayā iva yat pravargyaḥ |.

"The gods, desirous of fame, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said 'whatever fame first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.' Kuruxetra was their altar. Khaṇḍava was its southern, Tūrghna its northern, and Parīṇah its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Fame came to the Sacrifice derived from Vishṇu [*Makha Vaishṇava*] among their number. This fame he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] fame. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, 'Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.' Virile strength issued from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They

became *śyāmāka* grain. For they are smilers (*smayākāḥ*). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with reserve, that he may retain his virility. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], 'let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subdue [or kill him]. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.' Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose.[115] They gnawed his (Vishṇu's) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (*prāvarttata*), the *pravargya* derives its name. From its falling with the sound of *ghrāṁ*, *gharma* obtained its name. Virile energy (or seed, *vīryaṁ*) fell from the mighty one (*mahataḥ*): hence the *mahāvīra* got its name. 6. From their making a collection (*samabharan*) of it[116] (what?) the *samrāṭ* obtains its appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.' They said 'Let us ask a boon, let our *graha* (libation of Soma) be received here also. [The gods accordingly] received this [libation] to the Aśvins for them. [The Aśvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is the *pravargya*. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven. When one spreads out the *pravargya*, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this *pravargya* is principally concerned with oblations to the Aśvins."

Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6—*Devā vai yaśaskāmāḥ satram*

[115] The word thus translated is *vārevṛitam*, as written in the copy (in Roman letters) sent to me by Prof. Weber. If, however, one may judge from the two following passages of a similar nature from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the true reading must be *varavṛitam*, which I have adopted in the text:—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7: *Yajño vai devebhya udakrāmat | te devā na kiñchanāśaknuvan kartum | . . . . na prājānans te 'bruvann Aditiṁ 'tvayemaṁ yajñaṁ prajānāmeti' | sā tathety abravīt | sā vai varaṁ vṛiṇā iti | vṛiṇīshveti | saitam eva varam avṛiṇīta | matprāyaṇā yajñāḥ santu mad-udayanā iti | tatheti | tasmād ādityaś charuḥ prāyaṇīyo bhavaty | ādityā udayanīyo | varavṛito hy asyāḥ.* Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 2, 3: *Agnishomābhyāṁ vā Indro Vṛitram ahaṁs tāv enam abrūtāṁ | āvābhyāṁ vai Vṛitram avadhīr varaṁ te vṛiṇāvahā iti | 'Vṛiṇāthāṁ' iti | tāv etam eva varam avṛiṇātāṁ | śvaḥsutyāyāṁ paśum | su enayor esho 'chyuto | varavṛito hy enayoḥ.*

[116] It does not appear to what *tasyāḥ* (in the feminine) refers.

āsata Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhas te 'bruvan 'yan no yaśa ṛichhāt tan naḥ sahāsad' iti | teshām Makhaṁ yāśa ārchhat | tad ādāya apākrāmat | tad asya pra sahāditsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratishṭabhya atishṭhat tasya dhanur-ārtinir ūrdhvā patitvā śiro 'chhinat sa pravargyo 'bhavat | yajño vai Makhaḥ | yat pravargyam pravṛiñjanti yajñasyaiva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhati |

"Desirous of fame, the gods, Agni, Indra, Vāyu and Makha (Sacrifice) were attending a sacrifice. They said, 'whatever fame comes to us that shall be common to us. Fame came to Makha among their number. Taking it, he departed. The others wished to take their share in it. They followed [or, strove with] him. He stood leaning on his bow. The end of his bow, springing upwards, cut off his head. He became the *pravargya*. Makha is sacrifice. When men spread out the *pravargya*, they replace the head of Makha."

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishṇu, 1, 1: *"Agnir vai devānām avamo | Vishṇuḥ paramas | tadantareṇa sarvā anyā devatāḥ.* "Agni is the lowest, Vishṇu the highest among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities." In his Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that "this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu." Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: *Vishṇur vai devānāṁ dvārapaḥ | sa evāsmā etad dvāraṁ vivṛiṇoti.* "Vishnu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him that door."

The following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa gives the legend of the dwarf incarnation in its later form:

"Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's Ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishṇur deva-namaskṛitaḥ | tapaś-charaṇa-yogārtham uvāsa sa mahātapāḥ |* 3. *Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśrama iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahātapaḥ |* 4. *Abhibhūya cha devendram purā Vairochanir Baliḥ | trailokya-rājyam bubhuje balotseka-madānvitaḥ |* 5. *Tato Balau tadā yajñaṁ yajamāne bhayārditāḥ | Indrādayaḥ suragaṇā Vishṇum ūchur ihāśrame |* 6. *"Balir Vairochanir Vishṇo yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kāma-daḥ sarva-bhūtānām maharddhir asurādhipaḥ |* 7. *Yo chainam abhivartante yāchitāra itastataḥ | yachcha yatra yathāvachcha sarvaṁ tebhyaḥ prayachchhati |* 8. *Sa tvaṁ sura-hitārthāya māyā-yogam upāśritaḥ | vāmanatvaṁ gato Vishṇo kuru kalyāṇam uttamam" |* 9,[117]

[117] The following verses 9–16 are rightly enclosed in brackets by Schlegel, as inter-

[*Etasminn antare Rāma Kaśyapo 'gni-sama-prabhaḥ | Adityā sahito Rāma dīpyamāna ivaujasā* | 10. *Devī-sahāyo bhagavān divya-varsha-sahasrakam | vratañ samāpya vara-dañ tushṭāva Madhusūdanam* | 11. *"Tapomayañ tapo-rāśiñ tapo-mūrttiñ tapo-dhanam | tapasā tvāñ su-taptena paśyami purushottamam* | 12. *Sarīre tava paśyāmi jagat sarvam idam prabho | tvam anādir anirdeśyas tvām ahañ śaraṇañ gataḥ"* | 13. *Tam uvācha Hariḥ prītaḥ Kaśyapañ dhūta-kalmasham | varañ varaya bhadrañ te varārho 'si mato mama* | 14. *Tach chhrutvā vachanañ tasya Mārīchaḥ Kaśyapo 'bravīt | "putratvañ gachchha bhagavann Adityā mama chānagha* | 15. *Bhrātā bhava yavīyāñs tvañ Sakrasyāsura-sūdana | śokārttānāñ tu devānāñ sāhāyyañ karttum arhasi"* | 16. *Atha Vishṇur mahātejā Adityāñ samajāyata | chhatrī bhixuka-rūpeṇa kamaṇḍalu-śikhojjvalaḥ |*] 17. *Evam uktaḥ surair Vishṇur vāmanañ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanim upāgamya trīn yayāchātmanaḥ kramān* | 18. *Labdhvā cha trīn kramān Vishṇuḥ kṛitvā rūpam athādbhutam | tribhiḥ kramais tadā lokān ājahāra tri-vikramaḥ* | 19. *Ekena hi padā kṛitsnām pṛithivīñ so 'dhyatishṭhata | dvitīyenāvyayañ vyoma dyāñ tṛitīyena Rāghava* | 20. *Tañ chāsuram Baliñ kṛitvā pātāla-tala-vāsinam | trailokya-rājyam Indrāya dadāv uddhṛitya kaṇṭakam* |

I subjoin the text of the same passage according to Signor Gorresio's edition:

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's Ed.) i. 32, 2 ff.—*Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśrama iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahā-yaśāḥ* | 3. *Vishṇur vāmana-rūpena tapyamāno mahat tapaḥ | trailokya-rājye 'pahṛite Balinendrasya Rāghava* | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition] 7. *Tañ tvañ vāmana-rūpeṇa gatvā bhixitum arhasi | vikramāñs trīn mahābāho dātā hi niyatañ sa te* | 8. *Bhixito vikramān etāñs trīn vīrya-bala-darpitaḥ | paribhūya jagan-nāthañ tubhyañ vāmana-rūpiṇe* | 9. *Ye hy enam abhiyāchante lipsa-mānaḥ svam īpsitam | tān kāmair īpsitāiḥ sarvān yojayaty asureśvaraḥ* | 10. *Sa tvañ trailokya-rājyaṃ no hṛitam bhūyo jagat-pate | dātum arhasi nirjitya vikramair bhūribhis tribhiḥ* | 11. *Ayañ siddhāśramo nāma siddha-karmā bhavishyati | tasmin karmaṇi sañsiddhe tava satya-parā-*

polated. A comparison of verse 8 with verse 17 clearly shows that the latter must originally have followed immediately after the former. Compare the versions of the story given below from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where the dwarf is said to have been the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. This is also the parentage of Vishṇu as one of the twelve Adityas.—See above, pp. 103 ff.

krama | [Gorresio's edition does not contain any verses corresponding to those marked by Schlegel as spurious, viz. lines 9-16 of his edition.] 12. *Evaṁ uktaḥ surair Vishṇur vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanim upāgamya trīṇ ayāchata vikramān* | [The remaining verses are word for word the same as in Schlegel's recension].

The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition:

Viśvāmitra speaks: "2. In this place, o large-armed Rama, Vishṇu, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of performing austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rama, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indra) enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and the other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Vishṇu in this hermitage. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, o Vishṇu, is now performing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosperous lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from whatever quarter, he bestows on them all whatever, wherever, and in whatever manner [they wish]. 8. Do thou, o Vishṇu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.' [9. At this period, o Rama, the divine Kasyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, 10. having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdana: '11. 'Through intense austerity I behold thee the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, whose wealth is austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe; thou art unbeginning and ineffable; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.' 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away: 'Ask a boon; may good attend thee; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.' 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, replied: 'Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Śakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to

succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Vishṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on his crown]. 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishṇu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, o Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy.

As the text of Gorresio's edition varies somewhat from that of Schlegel, I shall subjoin a translation of those parts of it which are different.

"2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, called the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the illustrious Vishṇu was perfected, 3. when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4-6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition]. 7. 'Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, o large-armed; 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him with that view. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called the hermitage of the perfect, (or *fulfilled*), shall be [a place] where *this work is fulfilled*, when this work has been accomplished by thee, o possessor of real might.' Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces." (The rest corresponds with Schlegel's edition).

The following are two brief notices of the dwarf incarnation from the Mahābhārata:

Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, vv. 1294, 3 ff.—*Virochanasya balavān*

Balih putro mahāsurah | abadhyah sarva-lokānām sa-devāsura-raxasām | bhavishyati sa Sakrañcha sva-rājyād chārayishyati=(chyāvayishyati?) | trailokye 'pahrite tena vimukhe cha Sachīpatau | Adityam dvādaśādityah sambhavishyāmi Kaśyapāt | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi Sakrāyāmita-tejase | devatāh sthāpayishyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Balinchaiva karishyāmi pātāla-tala-vāsinam | Dānavañcha Balim śreshṭham abadhyam sarva-daivataih |

Vishṇu says to Narada: "The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rāxasas. He shall oust Sakra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born as the twelve Adityas, the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. I shall then restore his empire to Sakra of boundless energy; shall reinstate the gods in their several positions; shall place Bali in Pātāla, and [make] the eminent Dānava Bali indestructible by all the gods."

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff—[118] *Aditer api putratvam etya Yādava-nandana | tvam Vishṇur iti vikhyāta Indrād avarajo vibhuh | śiśur bhūtvā divam khañcha prithivīñcha parantapa | tribhir vikramaṇaih Kṛishṇa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam ākāśam āditya-sadane sthitah | atyārohaścha bhūtātman bhāskaram svena tejasā | prādurbhāva-sahasreshu teshu teshu tvayā vibho | adharma-ruchayah Kṛishṇa nihatāh śataśo' surāh |* "And thou, Krishṇa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Vishṇu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, o vexer of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the æther, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, o soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own force. In these thousands of thy manifestations, o all-pervading Krishṇa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity."

The next passage is a short notice of the same incarnation from the Vishṇu Purāṇa:

Vish. Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson's translation).—*Manvantare tu samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija | vāmanah Kaśyapād Vishṇur Adityām sambabhūva ha | Tribhih kramair imān lokān jitvā yena mahātmanā |*

[118] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 489, note, and p. 779 f. and note.

Pūrandarāya trai lokyaṁ dattaṁ nihata-kaṇṭakam | "So when the Vaivasvata manvantara was arrived, Vishṇu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), their enemy being destroyed."

The legend of Vishnu's incarnation as a dwarf is told in a greatly developed form in the fifteenth and following sections of the eighth Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. As the whole narrative is too long to be quoted here in extenso, I shall give an abstract of the contents of these sections, translating in full some of those portions which appear the most important. The story commences thus:

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—*Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchata* | *bhūteśvaraḥ kṛipaṇa-val labdārtho 'pi babandha tam* | 2. *Etad veditum ichhāmo mahat kautūhalaṁ hi naḥ* | *yajñeśvarasya pūrṇasya bandhanaṁ chāpy anāgasaḥ* |

The king asks: "Why did Hari, the lord, whose wishes were satisfied, ask, like a poor man, three paces of land from Bali? and why did he bind him? 2. This we desire to know; and we have a great curiosity;—and also why an innocent being was bound by the perfect lord of sacrifice?" The sage Śuka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brāhmaṇs of the race of Bhṛigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a *viśvajit* sacrifice, which had the virtue of enabling him to conquer all his enemies. He then sets out (verse 11) attended by a host of Daityas, to attack the capital of Indra, which is described with all its splendours and attractions. When Bali had invested the city (verse 23), Indra enquires of his spiritual preceptor how it is that his enemy has acquired this tremendous power, which appears altogether irresistible.

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): *Jānāmi Maghavan śatror unnator asya kāraṇam* | *śishyāyopabhṛitaṁ tejo Bhṛigubhir brahma-vādibhiḥ* | 29. *Bhavad-vidho bhavān vā 'pi varjayitveśvaraṁ Harim* | *nāsya śaktaḥ puraḥ sthātum kṛitāntasya yathā janāḥ* | 30. *Tasmād nilayam utsṛijya yūyaṁ sarve trivishṭapam* | *yāta kālam pratīxanto yataḥ śatror viparyayaḥ* | 31. *Esha vipra-balodarkaḥ sampraty ūrjita-vikramaḥ* | *teshām evāvamānena sānubandho vinaṅxyati* |

"I know, Maghavan, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy

to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bhṛigus, the utterers of the Veda. 29. No one such as you, nor even you yourself, [nor any one] excepting only Hari the lord, is able to stand before him, as men [are unable to confront] death. 30. Wherefore do ye all, abandoning heaven, your abode, depart, expecting time, from which [shall come] the overthrow of your enemy. 31. He now reaps the fruits of Brahmanical power, and thus his prowess has become augmented. Through contempt of these same Brahmans, he shall perish with all his dependants."

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans, will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 125).

Following the advice of their preceptor, Indra and the other gods abandoned heaven, and Bali took possession of the celestial capital, when the Bhṛigus celebrated for him a hundred *aśvamedhas*, (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajāpati Kaśyapa, who makes various conjectures about the cause of her apparent unhappiness, of which (verse 15 f.) he receives an explanation. He then replies:

(Sect. 16, vv. 18 ff.)—*Evam abhyarthito 'dityā Kas tām āha smayann iva | aho māyā-balaṁ Vishṇoḥ sneha-baddham idaṁ jagat | 19. Kva deho bhautiko 'nātmā kva chātmā prakṛiteḥ paraḥ | kasya ke pati-puttrādyā moha eva hi kāraṇam | 20. Upatishṭhasva Purusham bhagavantaṁ Janārdanam | sarva-bhūta-guhāvāsaṁ Vāsudevaṁ jagad-gurum | 21. Sa vidhāsyati te kāmān Harir dīnānukampanaḥ | amoghā bhagavad-bhaktir netareti matir mama |*

18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Ka [119] (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it were smiling, 'O, the power of Vishṇu's illusion! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (*i.e.* how great is the superiority of soul to the body!) [120] Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person? [121] (*i.e.* there are no such things

[119] For an explanation of this word see above, p. 13, note 30.

[120] Compare for this idiom the Raghuvaṁśa, i, 2: *Kva sūrya-prabhavo vaṁśaḥ kva chālpa-vishayā matiḥ |*

[121] See Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's edition), ii. 108, 3 ff.

as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janārdana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vāsudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfil thy desires: devotion to the lord, and that alone, is never fruitless; such is my opinion."

Aditi then asks how she is to worship Vishṇu in such a way as to obtain her desires, and receives from Kaśyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (*payo-vrata*) which she is to perform.

She accordingly celebrates the prescribed rite (sect. 17 ff.), when Hari, the primeval Purusha, appears to her in yellow vesture, with four arms, bearing his shell, discus, and club. She implores his succour, and receives an assurance that he has been gratified by her service, which shall not remain unfruitful. He goes on to say:

(Sect. 17, vv. 18 ff.)—*Tvayārchitaś chāham apatya-guptaye payo-vratenānuguṇaṁ samīḍitaḥ | svāṁśena putratvam upetya te sutān goptāsmi Mārīcha-tapasy adhishṭhitaḥ | 19. Upadhāva patim bhadre prajāpatim akalmasham | māṁ cha bhāvayatī patyāv evaṁrūpam avasthitam | 20. Naitat parasmā ākhyeyam prishṭayā 'pi kathañchana | sarvaṁ sampadyate devi deva-guhyaṁ susaṁvṛitam | 21. Śuka uvācha | etāvad uktvā bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | Aditir durlabhaṁ labdhvā Harer jannātmani prabhoḥ | upādhāvat patim bhaktyā parayā kṛita-kṛitya-vat | 22. Sa vai samādhi-yogena Kaśyapas tad abudhyata | pravishṭam ātmani Harer aṁśaṁ hy avitathekṣaṇaḥ | 23. So 'dityāṁ vīryam ādhatta tapasā chira-sambhṛitam | samāhita-manā rājan dāruṇy agniṁ yathā 'nilaḥ |*

"'Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīcha (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in this form abides within him. 20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, o goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.' 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain in-

tuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood."

I have already observed that Vishṇu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 115). The connection with the old legend is therefore here preserved.

The eighteenth section relates how Hari was born of Aditi, to the great delight of all creatures, and how he then took the form of a dwarf:

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—*Yat tad vapur bhāti-vibhūshaṇāyudhair avyakta-chid vyaktam adhārayad Hariḥ | babhūva tenaiva sa vāmano vaṭuḥ sam-paśyator divya-gatir yathā naṭaḥ |* "While Hari, the invisible spirit, was invested with that body, which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons, he, whose ways are supernatural, became with that very body, while [his parents] were looking on, a young dwarf, as an actor [changes his character]."

He afterwards went to attend the *aśvamedha* sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhṛigus on the banks of the river Narmadā.[122] Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, and washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds:

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.)—*Tat-pāda-śauchaṁ jana-kalmashāpahaṁ sa dharma-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumaṅgalam | yad deva-devo Girišaś chandra-maulir dadhāra mūrdhnā parayā cha bhaktyā | 29. Balir uvācha | svāgataṁ te namas tubhyam brahman kiṁ karavāma te | brahmarshīṇāṁ tapaḥ sākṣād manye tv ārya vapur-dharam | . . . . . 32. Yad yad vaṭo vāñchhasi tat pratīchha me tvām arthinam vipra-sutānutarkaye | gāṁ kāñchanaṁ guṇavad dhāma mṛishṭaṁ tathā 'nna-peyam uta vā vipra-kanyām | grāmān samṛiddhāṁs turagān gajān vā rathāṁs tathā 'rhattama sampratīchha |* 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed, which removes the sins of men, and which Giriśa (Śiva), the god of gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head, with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: 'Welcome to thee, reverence to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard

[122] It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra's heaven.

thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages. . . . . 32. Ask of me, youth, whatever thou desirest, (son of a Brahman, I conclude that thou art a suppliant), ask, most respectable man, a cow, pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman's daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages.'"

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech complimentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily ends with the seemingly moderate demand of three paces of ground:

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—*Tasmāt tvatto mahīm īshad vṛiṇe 'haṁ varadarshabhāt | padāni trīṇi daityendra sammitānī padā mama | 17. Nānyat te kāmaye rājan vadānyāj jagadīśvarāt | nainaḥ prāpnoti vai vidvān yāvad-artha-pratigrahaḥ | 18. Balir uvācha | Aho Brāhmaṇa-dāyāda vāchas te vṛiddha-sammatāḥ | tvam bālo bāliśa-matiḥ svārtham praty abudho yathā | 19. Māṁ vachobhiḥ samārādhya lokānām ekam īśvaram | pada-trayaṁ vriṇīte yo 'buddhimān dvīpa-dāśusham | 20. Na pumān mām upavrajya bhūyo yāchitum arhati | tasmād vṛittikarīm bhūmiṁ vaṭo kāmam pratīchha me | 21. Śrī-bhagavān uvācha | yāvanto vishayāḥ preshṭhās trilokyām ajitendriyam | na śaknuvanti te sarve pratipūrayitum nṛipa | 22. Tribhiḥ kramair asantushṭo dvīpenāpi na pūryate | nava-varsha-sametena saptadvīpa-varechhayā | . . . . . 27. Tasmāt trīṇi padāny eva vriṇe tvad varadarshabhāt | etāvataiva siddho 'ham vittaṁ yāvat prayojanam | 28. Śuka uvācha | ity uktaḥ sa hasann āha vāñchhitam pratigṛihyatām | vāmanāya mahīṁ dātuṁ jagrāha jala-bhājanam |*

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs. 18. Bali answered: 'Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseem an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having by words reverenced me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man should come to me and make repeated requests: wherefore freely ask me for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.' 21. The deity replied: 'All the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, o king, satisfy the man whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three

paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine *varshas*, since he will desire the gift of the seven continents.[123] 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices for my maintenance I am complete.' Being thus addressed, Bali said, smiling, 'take what thou desirest;' and with the view of giving the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water."

Uśanas, however, Bali's priest and preceptor, recognizing Vishṇu in the dwarf, and knowing the god's designs, here interposes, and warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited:

(Sect. 19, v. 29 ff.)—*Vishṇave mām pradāsyantam Uśanā asureśvaram | jānāṅś chikīrshitaṁ Vishṇoḥ śishyam prāha vidāṁ varaḥ* | 30. *Śukrāchāryya uvācha | Esha Vairochane sākṣād bhagavān Vishṇur avyayaḥ | Kaśyapād Aditer jāto devānāṁ kārya-sādhakaḥ* | 31. *Pratiśrutaṁ tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānatā | na sādhu manye daityānām mahān upagato 'nayaḥ* | 32. *Esha te sthānam aiśvaryyaṁ śriyaṁ tejo yaśaḥ śrutam | dāsyaty āchhidya Śakrāya māyā-māṇavako Hariḥ* | 33. *Tribhiḥ kramair imān lokān viśva-kāyaḥ kramishyati | sarvasvaṁ Vishṇave dattvā mūḍha varttishyase katham* | 34. *Kramato gām padaikena dvitīyena divaṁ vibhoḥ | khaṁ cha kāyena mahatā tārtīyasya kuto gatiḥ* | 35. *Nishṭhām te narake manye hy apradātuḥ pratiśrutam | pratiśrutasya yo 'nīśaḥ pratipādayitum bhavān* | 36. *Na tad dānam praśaṁsanti yena vṛittir vipadyate | dānaṁ yajñas tapaḥ karma loke vṛittimato yataḥ* |

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Vishṇu's intention, thus addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the land to that deity: 30. 'This, o son of Virochana, is manifestly the divine, undecaying Vishṇu, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised promise which thou, unknowingly, hast made to him, is not, I consider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been committed. 32. This illusory dwarf having bereft thee of thy place, dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will give them to Śakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou hast given all thy possessions to Vishṇu? 34. Where shall there be room for the third pace

[123] See the First Part of this work, pp. 184 ff. for an account of these continents and *varshas*.

of the all-pervading being when he has traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and [filled] the atmosphere with his vast body? 35. I think that thy abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to carry it out) of what thou hast promised. 36. Men do not approve that gift by which [the donor's] livelihood is ruined: for [it is understood] in the world that gifts, sacrifices, austerities, ceremonies, are only performed by those who have the means."

In the verses which follow it is apparently the preceptor's object to show that the monarch may consider himself as absolved by the necessities of the case from fulfilling his promise already given to the dwarf.

Bali, however, refuses (sect. 20, vv. 2 ff.) to break his promise, whatever consequences to himself may result. He is thereupon cursed by his preceptor for his disobedience:

(Sect. 20, vv. 14 ff.)—*Evam aśraddhitaṁ śishyam anādeśa-karaṁ guruḥ | śaśāpa daiva-prahitaḥ satyasandham manasvinam* | 15. *Dṛiḍham paṇḍita-māny ajñaḥ stabdho 'sy asmad-upexayā | mach-chhāśanātigo yas tvam achirād bhraśyase śriyaḥ* | 16. *Evaṁ śaptaḥ sva-guruṇā satyād na chalito mahān | vāmanāya dadāv enām architvodaka-pūrvakam* | 17. *Vindhyāvalis tadā "gatya patnī jālaka-mālinī | āninye kalaśaṁ haimam avanejany apām bhṛitam* | 18. *Yajamānaḥ svayaṁ tasya śrīmat-pāda-yugaṁ mudā | avanijyāvahad mūrdhni tad-apo viśva-pāvanīḥ* |

14. "The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise; [saying], 15. 'Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us: but thou who transgressest my commandment, shalt soon fall from thy prosperous state.' 16. Though thus cursed by his preceptor, this great [monarch], not departing from truth, gave this [earth] to the dwarf, after making an obeisance and pouring water [on his hand]. 17. Then his wife Vindhyāvali, wearing a necklace of pearls, approaching, brought a golden vessel filled with water for ablution. 18. Then the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brahman], bore upon his head the world-purifying water which had been so employed."

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand:

(Sect. 20, v. 21).—*Tad vāmanaṁ rūpam avardhatādbhutaṁ Harer anantasya guṇa-trayātmakam | bhūḥ khaṁ diśo dyaur vivarāḥ payodhayas tiryaṇ-nṛi-devā ṛishayo yad āsata |* "That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] which composed the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods, and rishis."

A further account of this vast body, of the effect which the appearance of it produced on the Asuras, and other beings, is given in verses 22–32; and at length the strides of the deity are thus described:

(Sect. 20, v. 33).—*Xitim padaikena Baler vichakrame nabhaḥ śarīreṇa diśaścha bāhubhiḥ | padaṁ dvitīyaṁ kramatas trivishṭapaṁ na vai ṭritīyāya tadīyam anv api | urukramasyāṅghrir upary upary atho maharjanābhyāṁ tapasaḥ paraṁ gataḥ |* "He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [filled] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [occupied] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas.[124]

The gods assemble (Sect. 21) to do homage to Hari on his victory, which they celebrate with great rejoicing, and which is proclaimed by the King of the bears:

(Sect. 21, vv. 8 ff.)—*Jāmbavān ṛixa-rājas tu bheri-śabdair manojavaḥ | vijayaṁ dikṣu sarvāsu mahotsavam aghoshayat | 9. Mahīṁ sarvāṁ hṛitāṁ dṛishṭvā tri-pada-vyāja-yāchñayā | ūchuḥ sva-bharttur asurā dīxitasyātyamarshilāḥ | 10. Na vā ayam brahma-bandhur Vishṇur māyāvināṁ varaḥ | dvija-rūpa-pratichhanno deva-kāryyaṁ chikīrshati | 11. Anena yāchamānena śatruṇā vaṭu-rūpiṇā | sarvasvaṁ no hṛitam bharttur nyastadaṇḍasya varhishi | 12. Satya-vratasya satataṁ dīxitasya viśeshataḥ | nānṛitam bhūshituṁ śakyam brahmaṇyasya dayāvataḥ | 13. Tasmād asya badhe dharmo bharttuḥ śuśrūshaṇe cha naḥ | ity āyudhāni jagṛihur Baler anucharāsuraḥ | 14. Te sarve vāmanaṁ hantum śūla-paṭṭiśa-pāṇayaḥ | anichhato Baleḥ rājan prādravan jāta-manyavaḥ |*

8. "Jāmbavat, King of the bears, swift as thought, proclaimed this victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master

[124] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇā (p. 48, note 10, and p. 213) for an account of these *Lokas*.

when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. 'This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishṇu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. By this enemy in the form of a stripling suppliant, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is the friend of Brahmans, and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him, and obey our master;'—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf." [125]

This attack of the Asuras is, however, derided by the followers of Vishṇu, who kill some of them, and they are at length restrained by Bali, who points out that time and fate are at present unfavourable to his cause. Bali is then bound in the chains of Varuṇa, and reproached by Vishṇu for failing to fulfil his promise:

(Sect. 21, v. 26).—*Atha Tārxa-suto jñātvā Virāṭ prabhu-chikīrshitam | babandha Vāruṇaiḥ pāśair Balim̃ sautye 'hani kratau | 27. Hāhākāro mahān āsīd rodasyoḥ sarvato-diśam | gṛihyamāṇe 'sura-patau Vishṇunā prabhavishṇunā | 28. Tam baddhaṁ Vāruṇaiḥ pāśair bhagavān āha vāmanaḥ | nashṭa-śriyam sthira-prajñam udāra-yaśasaṁ nṛipa | 29. Padāni trīṇi dattāni bhūmer mahyaṁ tvayā 'sura | dvābhyāṁ krāntā mahī sarvā tṛitīyam upakalpaya | 30. Yāvat tapaty asau gobhir yāvad Induḥ saholubhiḥ | Yāvad varshati Parjanyas tāvatī bhūr iyāṁ tava | 31. Padaikena mayā krānto bhūrlokaḥ khaṁ diśas tanoḥ | svarlokas tu dvitīyena paśyatas te svam ātmanā | 32. Pratiśrutam adātus te niraye vāsa ishyate | viśa tvaṁ nirayaṁ tasmād gurunā chānumoditāḥ | 33. Vṛithā manorathas tasya dūra-svargaḥ pataty adhaḥ | yo viprāya pratiśrutya na tad arpayate 'rthitam | 34. Vipralabdho dadāmīti tvayā 'haṁ chādya-māninā | tad-vyalīka-phalam bhuṅxva nirayaṁ katichit samāḥ |* 26. "Then Virāṭ (Garuḍa), the son of Tārxa, knowing the purpose of

[125] It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuṇa[126] at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 28. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the puissant Vishṇu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. 'Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire earth has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This earth of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst 'I give.' Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.'"

Bali answers as follows (Sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—*Yady uttama-śloka bhavān mameritaṁ vacho vyalīkaṁ sura-varyya manyate | karomy ṛitaṁ tad na bhavet pralambhanam pādaṁ ṭṛitīyaṁ kuru śīrshṇi me nijam | 3. Bibhemi nāhaṁ nirayāt pada-chyuto na pāśa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayāt | naivārtha-kṛichchhrād bhavato vinigrahāt asādhu-vādād bhṛiśam udvije yathā |*

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, you consider the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I [now make it true, or] I do what is sincere, and can be no deception,—place your third step on my head. 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor misfortune difficult to escape, nor loss of wealth, nor your restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name."

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror's superiority,

[126] See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be *bhūri-pāśāv anṛitasya* "[gods] who have many bonds for falsehood."—See Roth's art. on the principal gods of the Arian nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73.

and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prahrāda. His wife Vindhyāvali nexts worships Vishṇu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Vishṇu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows:

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—*Esha dānava-daityānām agraṇīḥ kīrtti-vardhanaḥ | ajaishīd ajayām māyāṁ sīdann api na muhyati* | 29. *Xīṇa-rikthaś chyutaḥ sthānāt xipto baddhaścha śatrubhiḥ | jñātibhiścha parityakto yātanām anuyāpitaḥ* | 30. *Guruṇā bhartsitaḥ śapto jahau satyaṁ na suvrataḥ | chhalair ukto mayā dharmo nāyam tyajati satyavāk* | 31. *Esha me prāpitaḥ sthānaṁ dushprāpam amarair api | Sāvarṇer antarasyāyam bhavitendro mad-āśrayaḥ* | 32. *Tāvat sutalam adhyāstāṁ Viśvakarma-vinirmitaṁ | yan nādhayo vyādhayaścha klamas tandrā parābhavaḥ | nopasargā nivasatāṁ sambhavanti mamechhayā* |

28. "This chief of the Dānavas and Daityas, and enhancer of their renown, has conquered unconquerable Delusion: though dispirited, he is not bewildered. 29. Having lost his prosperity, fallen from his place, cast down and bound by his enemies, abandoned by his relations, involved in suffering, 30. reprehended and cursed by his preceptor, still, faithful to his obligation, he has not abandoned truth. [Though] duty has been inculcated by me in a deceitful fashion, this truthful being does not swerve from it. 31. He has [therefore] been elevated by me to a position to which even the immortals with difficulty attain: he shall be the Indra, supported by me, of the Sāvarṇi Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvakarman, where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants."

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: *Aho prāṇāmāya kṛitaḥ samudyamaḥ prapanna-bhaktārtha-vidhau samāhitaḥ | yallokapālais tvad-anugraho 'marair alabdha-pūrvo 'pasade 'sure 'rpitaḥ* | 3. *Śuka uvācha | ity uktvā Harim ānamya Brahmāṇaṁ sa-Bhavaṁ tataḥ | viveśa sutalam prīto Balir muktaḥ sahāsuraiḥ* | 2. "'O, even the effort made to adore thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee; seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded Asura.' 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahmā, and to Bhava (Śiva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras. Vishṇu now addresses Uśanas the priest of Bali:

(Sect. 21, v. 13).—*Athāhośanasaṁ rājan Harir Nārāyaṇo 'ntike | āsīnam ṛitvijām madhye sadasi brahma-vādinām* | 14. *Brahman santanu śishyasya karma-chhidraṁ vitanvataḥ | yat tat karmasu vaishamyam brahma-dṛishṭaṁ samam bhavet* | 15. *Śukra uvācha | Kutas tat-karma-vaishamyaṁ yasya karmeśvaro bhavān | yajñeśo yajñapurushaḥ sarva-bhāvena pūjitaḥ* | 16. *Mantratas tantrataś chhidraṁ deśa-kālārha-vastutaḥ | sarvaṁ karoti niśchhidram anusaṅkīrttanaṁ tava* | 17. *Tathāpi vadato 'bhūman karishyāmy anuśāsanam | etach chhreyaḥ param puṁsāṁ yat tavājñānupālanam* | 18. *Śuka uvācha | abhinandya Harer ājñām Uśanā bhagavān iti | yajña-chhidraṁ samādhatta Baler viprarshibhiḥ saha* | 19. *Evam Baler mahīm rājan bhixitvā vāmano Hariḥ | dadau bhrātre Mahendrāya tridivaṁ yat parair hṛitam* | 13. "Hari Nārayaṇa then approaching Uśanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of reciters of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. 'Brahman, rectify the irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.' 15. Śukra (Uśanas) replied: 'How can there be any irregularity in that ceremony of which you are the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial male [or victim], adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being (?), I shall fulfil the injunction which thou utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.' 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Uśanas with the Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali's sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra[127] the heaven which had been taken from him by his enemies."

Though the whole tenor of this legend, and, indeed, of the entire Bhāgavata Purāṇa, represents Vishṇu, of whom the dwarf was an incarnation, as the supreme deity, it is now rather strangely said that Brahmā and the other deities made the dwarf governor of all things:

(Sect 21, v. 20).—*Prajāpati-patir Brahmā devarshi-pitṛi-bhūmipaiḥ | Daxa-Bhṛigv-Aṅgiro-mukhyaiḥ Kumāreṇa Bhavena cha* | 21. *Kaśyapasy-āditeḥ prītyai sarva-bhūta-bhavāya chā | lokānām loka-pālānām akarod vām-*

[127] Vishṇu is called Upendra (the inferior or younger Indra), the brother of Mahendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 116, last line.

anam patim | 22. *Vedānāṁ sarva-devānāṁ dharmasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ* | *maṅgalānāṁ vratānāñcha kalpaṁ svargāpavargayoḥ* | 23. *Upendraṁ 'kalpayāñchakre patiṁ sarva-vibhūtaye* | *tadā sarvāṇi bhutāni bhṛiśam mumudire nṛipa* | 20. "Brahmā, the lord of the Prājāpatis, together with the gods, rishis, Pitris, with Daxa, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Vishṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly."

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 62) in glorification of Vishṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the legend of the dwarf incarnation.

SECT. V.—*Vishṇu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purānas.*

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Vishṇu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṇas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 55 that neither Yāska himself, nor Śākapūṇi and Aurṇavābha the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vishṇu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 56, it appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods of primary importance, and that of these Vishṇu is not one. As the passage from which this extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length:

Nir. 7, 4.—*Tad ye 'nādishṭa-devatā mantrās teshu devatopaparīxā* | *yad-daivatah sa yajño vā yajñāṅgaṁ vā tad-devatā bhavanti* | *atha anyatra*

yajñāt prājāpatyā iti yājñikāḥ | nārāśaṁsā iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sā kāma-devatā syāt prāyo-devatā vā | asti hy āchāro bahulaṁ loke deva-devatyam atithi-devatyam pitṛi-devatyam | yājña-daivato mantra iti | api hy adevatā devatā-vat stūyante | yathā 'śva-prabhṛitīny oshadhi-paryantāny athāpy ashṭau dvandvāni | sa na manyeta āgantūn iva arthān devatānām pratyaxa-dṛiśyam etad bhavati | mahābhāgyād devatāyā eka ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyaṅgāni bhavanti | api cha sattvānām prakṛiti-bhūmabhir ṛishayaḥ stuvanti ity·āhuḥ | prakṛiti-sārvanāmnyāch cha itaretara-janmāno bhavanti itaretara-prakṛitayaḥ karma-janmāna ātma-janmānaḥ | atmā eva eshāṁ ratho bhavaty ātmā 'śvāḥ ātmā" yudham ātmā ishavaḥ ātmā sarvaṁ devasya | 5. Tisra eva devatāḥ iti nairuktāḥ Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntarixa-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyā api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | yatho etat "karma-pṛithaktvād" iti bahavo 'pi vibhajya karmāṇi kuryuḥ | tatra saṁsthānaikatvaṁ sambhogaikatvaṁ cha upexitavyam | yathā pṛithivyām manushyāḥ paśavo devā iti sthānaikatvam | sambhokaikatvaṁ cha dṛiśyate yathā pṛithivyāḥ Parjanyena cha Vāyv-Ādityābhyāṁ cha sambhogo 'gninā cha itarasya lokasya | tatra etad nara-rāshṭram iva | 6. Athākāra-chintanaṁ devatānām | purusha-vidhāḥ syur ity ekam | chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | athāpi paurusha-vidhikair aṅgaiḥ saṁstūyante | . . . . athāpi paurusha-vidhikair dravya-saṁyogaiḥ | . . . . athāpi paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhiḥ | . . . . . 7. Apurusha-vidhāḥ syur ity aparam | api tu yad dṛiśyate 'purusha-vidhaṁ tat | yathā 'gnir vāyur ādityaḥ pṛithivī chandramā iti | yatho etat·"chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny apy evaṁ stūyante yathā 'xa-prabhṛitīny oshadhi-paryantāni | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair aṅgaiḥ saṁstūyante" ity achetaneshv apy etad bhavati | "abhi krandanti haritebhir āsabhir" iti grāva-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair dravya-saṁyogair" ity etad api tādṛiśam eva | "sukhaṁ rathaṁ yuyuje Sindhur aśvinam" iti nadī-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhir" ity etad api tādṛiśam eva | "hotuś chit pūrve havir adyam āśata" iti grāva-stutir eva | api cha ubhaya-vidhāḥ syuḥ | api vā purusha-vidhānām eva satāṁ karmātmāna ete syuḥ | yathā yajño yajamānasya | esha cha ākhyāna-samayaḥ | 8. Tisra eva devatā ity uktam purastāt | tāsām

bhakti-sāhacharyaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | atha etāny Agni-bhaktīny ayaṁ lokaḥ prātaḥ-savanaṁ vasanto gāyatrī trivṛit-stomo rathantaraṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātāḥ prathame sthāne 'gnāyī pṛithivī ilā iti striyaḥ | atha asya karma vahanaṁ cha havishām āvahanaṁ cha devatānāṁ yach cha dārshṭi-vishayikam Agni-karmaiva tat | atha asya saṁstavikā devā Indraḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Parjanya ṛitvaḥ | Āgnā-Vaishṇavaṁ havir na tu ṛik saṁstavikī daśatayīshu vidyate | atha apy Āgnā-Paushṇaṁ havir na tu saṁstavaḥ | . . . . . 10. Atha etāni Indra-bhaktīny antarixa-loko mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ grīshmas trishṭup pañchadaśa-stomo bṛihat-sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātā madhyame sthāne yāścha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasānupradānaṁ Vṛitra-vadho yā cha kā cha bala-kṛitir Indra-karmaiva tat | atha asya saṁstavikā devā Agniḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Pūshā Bṛihaspatir Brahmaṇaspatiḥ Parvataḥ Kutso Vishṇur Vāyuḥ | atha api Mitro Varuṇena saṁstūyate | Pūshṇā Rudreṇa cha Somaḥ | Agninā cha Pūshā | Vātena cha Parjanyaḥ | 11. Atha etāny Āditya-bhaktīny asau lokas tṛitīya-savanaṁ varshā jagatī saptadaśa-stomo vairūpaṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātā uttame sthāne yāś cha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasādānaṁ raśmibhiś cha rasādhāraṇaṁ yach cha kiñchit pravalhitam Āditya-karmaiva tat | Chandramasā Vāyunā Saṁvatsareṇa iti saṁstavaḥ | eteshv eva sthāna-vyūheshv ṛitu-chhandaḥ-stoma-pṛishṭhasya bhakti-śesham anukalpayīta | śarad-anushṭub-ekaviṁśa-stomo vairājaṁ sāma iti pṛithivy-āyatanāni | hemantaḥ paṅktis triṇava-stomaḥ śākvaram sāma ity antarixāyatanāni | śiśiro 'tichhandās trayas-triṁśa-stomo raivatam sāma iti dyu-bhaktīni |

4. "We shall now enquire who are the deities in those hymns in which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] belongs. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, according to the ritualists (*yājñikāḥ*), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), they are spoken in praise of men.[128] Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities: for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to

[128] Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word *nārāśaṁsa* is thus defined: *yena narāḥ praśasyante sa nārāśaṁso mantraḥ* | "a hymn in which men are eulogised is a *nārāśaṁsa* hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yāska quotes R. V. i. 126, 1.

what has been said that hymns are either (1) sacrificial, or (2) addressed to a god, [it is remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as *e.g.* the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1-28), and also the eight pairs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 35 ff.) But let him [the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the rishis address their hymns according to the numerous natures of the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of the definition of their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and possess the natures of each other (compare Nir. xi. 23, quoted above, p 11); they are produced from the ceremonial; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul their arrows, soul is a god's all.

5. There are three deities according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahmân*, and *udgātṛi*, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus, men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by Parjanya, and by Vāyu, and Āditya, and of the rest of the world by [Vāyu, Āditya, and] Agni. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants, (*i.e.* the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons [?]).

6. We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. (An instance is here given where

Indra is so introduced.) They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of possessions such as those of men; . . and with functions of a similar character to the human. . . . .

7. Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.) Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'they cry with their green mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of possessions such as those of men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'even before the priests they eat food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.[129]

8. It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their worship. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's worship: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatri metre, the trivṛit stoma, the rathantara sāma, the classes of gods who in the Nighaṇṭu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnāyī, Pṛithivī, and Ilā. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible (?)

[129] The commentator Durga, (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, Illust. of Nir. p. 104), refers this observation to the Mahābhārata, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brahman to beg the Kāṇḍava wood from Vāsudeva and Arjuna, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question.

is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Vishṇu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no *ṛich* which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshan in common, but no conjoint laudation. . . . . .

10. The following are the objects connected with Indra's worship: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishṭubh metre, the pañchadaśa stoma, the bṛihat sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra's function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛittra: and all exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Bṛihaspati, Brahmaṇaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishṇu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

11. The following are the objects connected with Āditya's (the Sun's) worship: heaven, the third oblation, the rainy season, the jagati metre, the saptadaśa stoma, the vairūpa sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the highest sphere. The function of Āditya is to draw up moisture, and to retain it by his rays: and whatever is mysterious is the work of Āditya. He is praised along with the Moon, the Air (*Vāyu*), and the Year.

[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and pṛishṭhas, as objects connected with the service of the different gods, under [one or other of the three] spheres as above arranged. Autumn, the anushṭubh metre, the ekavinśa stoma, and the vairāja sāma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the śākvara sāma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the atichhandas metre, the trayastrinśa stoma, and the raivata sāma, are connected with the celestial worship." [130]

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska, as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishṇu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped

[130] The whole of this passage is translated by Prof. Roth in his Ill. of Nir. pp. 101 ff.

along with Soma. The conjunction of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (*trimūrtti*) would therefore appear to have been unknown to Yāska.

It is true that his object in the passage I have cited, as well as in other parts of his work, is to classify the Vedic deities; and it may be urged that the Puranic mythology (of which the *trimūrtti* of Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, I think, be objected to this view, that if Yāska had been cognizant of any other than the Vedic mythology (at least if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of this kind in his work, we must conclude either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.

The following passages from the Bṛihaddevatā, in which the views of Yāska are repeated, are derived from Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Bṛihaddevatā, i. 13.—*Bhavad-bhūta*[*sya bha*]*vyasya jaṅgama-sthāvarasya cha | asyaike sūryam evaikam prabhavam pralayaṁ viduḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva yonir eshā Prajāpatiḥ | yad akṣaraṁ cha vāchyaṁ* (?) *cha yathaiva Brahma śāśvatam | kṛitvaisha hi tridhā "tmānam eshu lokeshu tishṭhati* | Ibid. i. 14 . . . *tisra evoha devatāḥ | eṣāṁ eva māhātmyād nāmānyatvaṁ vidhīyate | tach cha sthāna-vibhāgena tatra tatreha dṛiśyate* | i. 13: "Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the production and destruction of this [universe] present, past, and future, moving and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajāpati) is the source of nonentity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like the eternal Brahma. He, having made himself threefold, abides in these worlds. i. 14: . . . There are but three deities; and from their greatness, a variety of names is assigned [to each of them]. This is seen in different instances according to the distinction of places."

From the passage cited above (p. 26 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Vishṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Vishṇu is only once mentioned[131] by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

[131] Lassen Ind. Ant. i. 777, note.

Manasīndum diśaḥ śrotre krānte Vishṇum balo Haram | vāchy Agnim Mitram utsarge prajane cha Prajāpatim | "[He may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his going Vishṇu, in his strength Hara, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Prajāpati." Vishṇu is not spoken of here as in any way superior to the other gods with whom he is associated.

In the text quoted above (p. 29) from the older recension of the Rāmāyaṇa too, it is Brahmā who is spoken of not only as the creator, but also as the god who raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean.

Again, those texts of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas (see above, pp. 103 ff.) where Vishṇu is described as one of the twelve Ādityas, confirm the conclusion that he must have been originally looked upon as a deity of no more elevated rank than the other sons of Aditi; and the circumstance that he is in some of those passages distinguished from the rest of the gods by epithets expressive of some higher characteristics is easily explicable, as I have already remarked, by the supposition that those passages have been composed or modified at a period when his superiority had come to be recognized.

In some of the earlier passages of the Rāmāyana also, where Vishṇu is introduced, though he is treated as a deity of higher rank than Indra and others (with whom he had been originally, at most, on a footing of equality), yet he is not designated by the same sort of epithets which are applied to him in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and in some parts of the Mahābhārata, or identified with the supreme deity, as in these last named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel's edition):

Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff.—*Medhāvī tu tato dhyātvā sa kiñchid idam uttaram | labdha-saṅjñas tatas taṁ tu veda-jño nṛipam abravīt | ishṭiṁ te 'nyāṁ karishyāmi putrīyām putra-kāraṇāt | atharvaśirasi proktair mantraiḥ siddhāṁ vidhānataḥ | tataḥ prachakrame karttum ishṭiṁ kāma-samṛiddhaye | tasya rājño hitānveshī Vidhāṇḍaka-suto vaśī | tatra devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ Siddhāścha munibhiḥ saha | bhāga-pratigrahārthaṁ vai pūrvam eva samāgatāḥ | Brahmā sureśvaraḥ Sthāṇus tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | Indraś cha bhagavān sākṣād Marud-gaṇa-vṛitas tathā | aśvamedhe mahāyajñe rājñas tasya mahātmanaḥ | tatra bhāgārthino devān āgatān so 'bhyayāchata | ayaṁ rājā Daśarathaḥ putrārthī taptavāṁs*

tapaḥ | ishṭavān aśvamedhena bhavataḥ śraddhayā 'nvitaḥ | ishṭiṁ cha putra-kāmo 'nyām punaḥ karttuṁ samudyataḥ | tad asya puttra-kāmasya prasādaṁ karttum arhatha | abhiyāche cha vaḥ sarvān asyārthe 'haṁ kṛitāñjaliḥ | bhaveyur asya chatvāraḥ putrās trailokya-viśrutāḥ | te tathety abruvan devā ṛishi-putraṁ kṛitāñjalim | mānanīyo 'si no vipra rājā chaiva viśeshataḥ | prāpsyate paramaṁ kāmam etayeshṭyā narādhipaḥ | ity uktvā 'ntarhitā devās tataḥ Śakra-purogamāḥ | tāḥ sametya yathānyāyaṁ tasmin sadasi devatāḥ | abruvan loka-karttāram Brahmāṇaṁ vachanaṁ tataḥ | tvat-pradishṭa-varo Brahman Rāvaṇo nāma rāxasaḥ | sarvān no bādhate darpād maharshīṁś cha tapo-ratān | tvayā hy asya varo dattaḥ prītena bhagavan purā | deva-dānava-yaxāṇām abadhyo 'sīti kāmataḥ | māṇḍavyaśāpa te vākyaṁ sarvam asya sahāmahe | sa bādhayati lokāṁś trīn vihiṁsan rāxaseśvaraḥ | . . . . 19. Tad nahad no bhayaṁ tasmād rāxasād ghora-darśanāt | badhārthaṁ tasya bhagavann upāyaṁ karttum arhasi | evam uktaḥ suraiḥ sarvaiś chintayitvā tato 'bravīt | hantāyaṁ vihitas tasya badhopāyo durātmanaḥ | tena "gandharva-yaxāṇāṁ deva-dānava-raxasām | abadhyaḥ syāṁ" iti proktaṁ tathety uktaṁ cha tad mayā | avajñāya tu tad raxo manushān nānvakīrttayat | tasmāt sa mānushād badhyo mṛityur nānyo 'sya vidyate | etach chhrutvā priyaṁ vākyam Brahmaṇā samudāhṛitam | devāḥ "Śakra-purogās te harshitāḥ sarvato 'bhavan | etasminn antare Vishṇur upayāto mahādyutiḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-pāṇiḥ pīta-vāsā jagat-patiḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya bhāskaras toyadaṁ yathā | tapta-haṭaka-keyūro vandyamānaḥ surottamaiḥ | taṁ abruvan surāḥ sarve samabhishṭutya sannatāḥ | ārttānām asi lokānām ārtti-hā Madhusūdana | yāchāmahe 'tas tvām ārtlāḥ śaraṇaṁ no bhavāchyuta | brūta kiṁ karavāṇīti Vishṇus tān abravīd vachaḥ | iti tasya vachaḥ śrutvā punar ūchur idaṁ surāḥ | rājā Daśaratho nāma taptavān sumahat tapaḥ | ishṭavāṁś chāśvamedhena prajā-kāmaḥ sa chāprajāḥ | asman-niyogāt tvaṁ Vishṇo tasya putratvam āpnuhi | tasya bhāryāsu tisṛishu Hrī-Śrī-Kīrtty-upamāsu cha | Vishṇo putratvam āgachha kṛitvā "tmānaṁ chaturvidham | tatra tvam mānusho bhūtvā pravṛiddhaṁ loka-kaṇṭakam | abadhyaṁ daivatair Vishṇo samare jahi Rāvaṇam | . . . . . 34. Tvaṁ gatiḥ paramā deva sarveshāṁ naḥ parantapa | badhāya deva-śatrūṇāṁ nṛiṇāṁ loke manaḥ kuru. | sa niyuktas tathā devaiḥ sākād Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | tān uvācha ityādi |

"Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on this answer, having acquired an insight [into what he should do], said

to the king: 'I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-śiras, to obtain for thee a son. The self-subdued son of Vibhāndaka, desiring the king's welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa[132] (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Ṛishyaśringa thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great aśvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: 'This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and possessed with faith, has worshipped you with an aśvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son whose hands were joined, 'So be it. Thou, Brahman, art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Śakra (Indra), then disappeared.

"Having duly assembled in that abode,[133] these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rākṣasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, o Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, o lord, a boon was formerly granted to him voluntarily by thee when well-pleased, viz. *Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yaxas.* Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rākṣasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rākṣasa of horrible aspect. Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. He said, "Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yaxas, gods, Dāṇ-

[132] Here it will be observed that Vishṇu, like the other gods, comes for his share.

[133] It seems as if there was something left out here, as no "abode" has been mentioned before. Vishṇu, too, ought to have been among the gods, as he is not said to have separated from the others, and yet his arrival is afterwards mentioned below.

avas and Rāxasas;" when I replied, "Be it so." But despising men, the Rāxasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man: no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by Brahmā, the gods, headed by Śakra, were altogether delighted. In the meantime the glorious Vishṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, afflicted, beseech thee be our refuge, o Achyuta (unfalling).' Vishṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said: 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Vishṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hrī, Śrī, and Kīrtti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvaṇa, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. . . . 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods," replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (*tvatto hi nānyas tam pāpaṁ śakto hantuṁ divaukasām*). Vishṇu, then, "the lord of the gods" (*deveśa*), "the most excellent of the immortals" (*tridaśa-puṅgava*), "adored by all the worlds" (*sarva-loka-namaskṛita*), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvaṇa, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

I have said that the representation given of Vishṇu in the preceding passage is of a different character from that which we find in writings of a later age. But it is not certain that even this passage formed part of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it originally existed. I extract the following remarks from "Lassen's Indian Antiquities," vol. i. p. 488, in regard to the interpolations which he supposes to have been made in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata:

"It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Krishna appear as incarnations of Vishṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other ligh than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives an taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Vishṇu. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the more modern character of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced; and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress."[134]

In p. 489, note, he remarks more particularly: "As regards the Rāmāyaṇa, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishṇu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishṇu in the four sons of Daśaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close,

[134] In the Preface to his Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. ix., Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: "But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyaṇa, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Vishṇu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Krishṇa, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Krishṇa is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated." Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Mānava Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: "It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature."

when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishṇu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Vishṇu."—p. 489.

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyana seems to confirm the opinion of Schlegel that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Vishṇu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Daśaratha. But if this be so, what necessity was there for celebrating the fresh ceremony, alluded to at the beginning of section 14 as a *putrīyā iṣhṭi*, for the same purpose? The passages to which I allude are the following:

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff.—*Tasya tv evam-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmanaḥ | sutārtham tapyamānasya nāsīd vaṁśa-karaḥ sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir utpannayam mahāmateḥ | sutārtham vāji-medhena kimarthaṁ na yajāmy aham | suniśchitām matiṁ kṛitvā yashṭavye vasudhādhipaḥ |* "But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerity for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, 'why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?' Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc."

Again, in Sect. 11, 1, it is said: *Atha kāle vyatikrānte śiśire tadanantaram | vasanta-samaye prāpte rājā yashṭum mano dadhe | tataḥ prasādya śirasā taṁ vipraṁ deva-varchasam | yajñāya varayāmāsa santānārthaṁ kulasya vai |* "Then when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by [bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvāli, Vasishṭha,

etc., he says to them (v. 8): *Mama tātapyamānasya putrārthaṁ nāsti vai sukham | tad ahaṁ haya-medhena yajeyam iti me matiḥ | tad-arthaṁ yashṭum ichhāmi haya-pūrveṇa karmaṇā* | "I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerity for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in which a horse is the first victim."

We are again told (v. 20):

Tataḥ sa gatvā tāḥ patnīr narendro hṛidayaṅgamāḥ | uvācha dīxāṁ viśata yaxye 'haṁ suta-kāraṇāt | "Then going to his beloved wives, the king said to them, 'Enter upon a course of consecration; I am about to sacrifice for a son.'"

And at the beginning of the 12th section it is said: *Punaḥ prāpte vasante tu pūrṇaḥ saṁvatsaro 'bhavat | prasavārtham gato yashṭum haya-medhena vīryavān* | "Then, when the spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to celebrate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring."

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kauśalya, "through desire of a son," remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night (13, 36: *Patatriṇā tadā sārddham sushṭhitena cha chetasā | avasad rajanīm ekām Kauśalyā putra-kāmyayā*), and the other two queens beside her (v. 3, 7).[135]

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section 13, vv. 54 ff.:

Daxiṇāḥ parigṛihyātha suprīta-mānasā dvijāḥ | ūchur Daśarathaṁ tatra kāmaṁ dhyāyeti vai tadā | tato 'bravīd Ṛishyaśṛiṅgaṁ rājā Daśarathas tadā | kulasya varddhanaṁ tat tu karttum arhasi suvrata | tatheti sa cha rājānam uvācha dvija-sattamāḥ | bhavishyanti sutā rājaṁś chatvāras te kulodvahāḥ | "Having received the gifts with great gratification, the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, 'Think of the object you desire.' The king then said to Rishyaśṛiṅga, 'Thou oughtest, saint, to effect that increase of my race.' The most excellent of Brahmans replied, 'So be it; king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.'"

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted

[135] See Wilson's translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii.; the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff.; Kātyāyana Sūtras, p. 973; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2645.

(p. 138), that Rishyaśṛiṅga, after thinking over the preceding reply, offers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-śiras, in order to procure offspring for the king; and proceeds accordingly to do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given of the aśvamedha, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied. We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had *previously* come to the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that Rishyaśṛiṅga now tells them that the king had performed austerity in order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rite. The necessity for this second sacrifice does not appear; it seems strange that a ceremony of such importance as the aśvamedha should be insufficient; there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered; and that this communication should have been reserved till the commencement of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 we are told that Vishṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the gods, makes himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious being, calling himself a son of Prajāpati (*prājāpatyaṁ naram*), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Vishṇu then disappears.

In section 19 the birth of Daśaratha's sons, twelve months after the conclusion of the sacrifice, is related (*tato yajñe samāpte tu ṛitūnāṁ shaṭ samatyayuḥ | tataścha dvādaśe māśe ityādi*). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: . . . . . *Jagannāthaṁ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmaṁ divya-lakṣaṇa-saṁyutam | Kauśalyā śuśubhe tena putreṇāmita-tejasā | yathā 'dhipena devānām Aditir Vajra-pāṇinā | [* bhavāya sa hi lokānāṁ Rāvaṇasya badhāya cha | Vishṇor vīryārddhato jajñe Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ | Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāṁ jajñe satya-parākramaḥ | sākṣād Vishṇoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | atha Lakṣmaṇa-Satrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛiḍha-bhaktī mahotsāhau Vishṇor*

arddha-samanvitau |] pushye jātas tu Bharato mīna-lagne prasanna-dhīḥ | sārpe jātau tu Saumitrī kulīre 'bhyadite ravau |

"Kauśalyā bore Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kauśalyā derived lustre from that son of boundless might, as Aditi did from the Thunderer, the lord of the gods. [*For the lotus-eyed Rāma was produced from the half of Vishṇu's virile power, for the good of the world and the slaughter of Rāvaṇa. Bharata, of genuine valour, was born of Kaikeyī, manifest as the fourth part of Vishṇu, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Laxmaṇa and Śatrughna, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Vishṇu]. Now Bharata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion) under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under the [ninth] lunar mansion of the serpents, when the sun had entered into Cancer."

If the supposition of Schlegel that the 13th and following sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Vishṇu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bharata, Laxmana, and Śatrughna, are related twice. In that case the epithets "lord of the universe," and "adored by all worlds," which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (a personage of less dignity than Vishṇu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

In a later section of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 75, we are told that Rāma was met by Parasurāma, who related to him a fight which had taken place between Vishṇu and Mahādeva. Two celestial bows, he says, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Vishṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ pṛichhanti sma Pitāmaham | Sitikaṇṭhasya Vishṇoś cha balābala-nirīxayā | abhiprāyaṁ tu vijñāya devatānām Pitāmahaḥ | virodhaṁ janayāmāsa tayoḥ satyavatāṁ varaḥ | virodhe tu mahad

yuddham abhavad roma-harshaṇam | Sitikaṇṭhasya Vishṇoś cha parasparajayaishiṇoḥ | tadā tu jṛimbhitam śaivaṁ dhanur bhīma-parākramam | hūṇkāreṇa Mahādevaḥ stambhito 'tha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samāgamya sarshi-saṇghaiḥ sa-chāraṇaiḥ | yāchitau praśamaṁ tatra jagmatus tau surottamau | jṛimbhitaṁ tad dhanur dṛishṭvā śaivaṁ Vishṇu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam menire Vishṇuṁ devāḥ sarshi-gaṇās tathā | dhanū Rudras tu saṇkruddho Videheshu mahāyaśāḥ | Devarātasya rājarsher dadau haste sa-sāyakam | idaṁ tu Vaishṇavaṁ Rāma dhanuḥ para-purañjayam | Ṛichīke Bhārgave prādād Vishṇuḥ sa nyāsam uttamam | "The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sitikaṇṭha (Mahādeva) and Vishṇu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Sitikaṇṭha and Vishṇu, each of whom was eager to conquor the other. Śiva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāranas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Śiva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishṇu, the gods and rishis esteemed Vishṇu to be superior. Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Vishṇu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishṇu gave this excellent deposit to Ṛichīka, the descendant of Bhṛigu." From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma, from whom the latter got it. Paraśurāma asks Rāma to bend it, if he can. Rāma bends the bow, fits an arrow on the string, and tells Paraśurāma that he will not shoot at him, because he is a Brahman. Paraśurāma confesses Rama's superiority (sect. 76, vv. 17 ff.)

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Vishṇu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's trans. pp. 594 ff.) the Harivaṁśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishṇu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa,

which I now proceed to quote from the text of the recently published Calcutta edition, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Calcutta text, though it follows the Devanāgari recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishṇu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding part of the poem it had been related that Sītā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvaṇa, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, Sect. 119, 1 ff.—*Tato hi durmanā Rāmaḥ śrutvaivaṁ vadatāṁ giraḥ | dadhyau muhūrttaṁ dharmātmā vāshpa-vyākula-lochanaḥ ||*
tato Vaiśravaṇo rājā Yamaś cha pitṛibhiḥ saha | Saḥasrāxaś cha deveśo Varuṇaścha jaleśvaraḥ | shaḍ-arddha-nayanaḥ śrīmān Mahādevo vṛishadvajaḥ | karttā sarvasya lokasya Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | [136] sa cha rājā Daśaratho vimānenāntarīxa-gaḥ | abhyāyagāma taṁ deśaṁ deva-rāja-sama-dyutiḥ |] ete sarve samāgamya vimānaiḥ sūrya-sannibhaiḥ | āgamya nagarīṁ Laṅkām abhijagmuś cha Rāghavam | tataḥ, sa-hastābharaṇān pragṛihya vipulān bhujān | abruvan tridaśa-śreshṭhā Rāghavam prāñjaliṁ sthitam | karttā sarvasya lokasya śreshṭho jñānavidāṁ vibhuḥ | upexase kathaṁ Sītām patantīm havyavāhane | kathaṁ deva-gaṇa-śreshṭham ātmānaṁ nāvabudhyase | Rita-dhāmā Vasuḥ pūrvaṁ Vasūnāṁ cha Prajāpatiḥ | tvam trayāṇāṁ hi lokānām ādikarttā svayam prabhuḥ | Rudrāṇām ashṭamo Rudraḥ Sādhyānām api pañchamaḥ | Aśvinau chāpi te karṇau chandrādityau cha chaxushī | ante chādau cha bhūtānāṁ dṛiśyase tvam parantapa | upexase cha Vaidehīm mānushaḥ prākṛito yathā | ity ukto lokapālais taiḥ svāmī lokasya Rāghavaḥ | abravīt tridaśa-śreshṭhāñ Rāmo dharma-bhṛitāṁ varaḥ | ātmānam mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathātmajam | so 'haṁ yaścha yataś chāhaṁ bhagavāṁs tad bravītu me | iti bruvāṇaṁ Kākutsthaṁ Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | abravīt śriṇu me vākyaṁ satyaṁ satya-parākrama | bhavān Nārāyaṇaḥ devaḥ śrīmāñś chakrāyudhaḥ prabhuḥ | eka-śṛiṅgo varāhas tvam bhūta-bhavya-sapatna-jit | axaram Brahma satyaṁ cha madhye chānte cha Rāghava | lokānāṁ tvam paro dharmo Viśvaksenaś chaturbhujaḥ | Sārṅga-dhanvā Hṛishīkeśaḥ purushaḥ purushottamaḥ | ajitaḥ khadga-dhṛig Vishṇuḥ Kṛishṇaś chaiva vṛihadbalaḥ | Senā-

[136] This verse is found in Gorresio's edition only.

nīr grāmaṇīḥ satyas tvam buddhis tvaṁ xamā damaḥ | prabhavaś chāpyayaś cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karmā Mahendras tvam padmanābho raṇānta-kṛit | śaraṇyaṁ śaraṇaṁ cha tvām āhur divyā maharshayaḥ | sahasra-śṛiṅgo vedātmā śata-śīrshā maharshabhaḥ | tvaṁ trayāṇāṁ hi lokānām ādi-karttā svayam prabhuḥ | siddhānām api sādhyānām āśrayaś chāsi pūrvaja | tvaṁ yajñas tvaṁ vashaṭkāras tvam oṁkāraḥ parāt parāḥ | prabhavaṁ nidhanaṁ vā te na vidus ko bhavān iti | dṛiśyase sarva-bhūteshu brāhmaṇeshu cha yeshu cha | diśu sarvāsu gagane parvateshu nadīshu cha | sahasra-charaṇaḥ śrīmān śata-śīrshaḥ sahasra-dṛik | tvaṁ dhārayasi bhūtāni vasudhāṁ cha sa-parvatām | ante pṛithivyāḥ salile dṛiśyase tvam mahorāgaḥ | trīn lokān dhārayan Rāma deva-gandharva-dānavān | ahaṁ te hṛidayaṁ Rāma jihvā devī Sarasvatī | devā romāṇi gātreshu Brahmaṇā nirmitāḥ prabho | nimeshas te smṛitā rātrir unmesho divasas tathā | saṁskārās te 'bhavan vedā naitad asti tvayā vinā | jagat sarvaṁ śarīraṁ te sthairyaṁ te vasudhā-talam | Agniḥ kopaḥ prasādas te somaḥ śrīvatsa-lakṣaṇa | tvayā lokās trayaḥ krāntāḥ purā svair vikramais tribhiḥ | Mahendraś cha kṛito rājā Balim baddhvā sudāruṇam | [137 yat paraṁ śrūyate jyotir yat paraṁ śrūyate tamaḥ | yat paraṁ parataś chaivā paramātmeti kathyase | paramākhyam paraṁ yach cha tvam eva parigīyase | sthity-utpatti-vināśānāṁ tvām āhuḥ paramāṁ gatim |] Sītā Lakṣmīr bhavān Vishnur devaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ prajāpatiḥ | badhārthaṁ Rāvaṇasyeha pravishṭo mānushīṁ tanum ityādi |

"Then the righteous Rama, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yama with the Pitris, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuna, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [*and that King Daśaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods]; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: 'How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sītā throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou

[137] These two lines occur in Gorresio's edition only.

wasi] formerly the Vasu Ṛitadhāman, and the Prajāpati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sādhyas. The Aśvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregardest Sītā like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man,[138] Rāma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the Veda, replied to Kākutstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, thou, o being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Viśvaksena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow Sārṇga, Hṛishikeśa (lord of the senses), Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Vishṇu, and Krishna[139] of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhusūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the

[138] In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Kṛishna is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: *Atha Brahmānugrahād eva Brahma-vidyaunmukhyasya śruty-ādi-siddhatayā tad-aunmukhyasya "ātmānaṁ nāvabudhyase" iti Brahmaṇaiva kṛitatvāt taj-jijñāsur iva svīyāya svarūpa-bodhanāya Brahmāṇaṁ gurum ajña iva upāsad ity āha "ātmānam" iti* | "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words 'how doest thou not perceive thyself?' Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, to explain his own nature, and says 'I regard myself,' etc."

[139] If this means, as it seems to do, Krishṇa the son of Devakī, it must, if not an anachronism, be regarded as prophetic. The commentator makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (*kṛishṇas tad-varṇaḥ*).

self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sādhyas, o thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra, and the omkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts.[140] This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, o thou whose mark is the Śrīvatsa. By thee the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction]. Sītā is Laxmī, and thou art Vishṇu, the divine Krishṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvaṇa,'" etc.

In the same way as Vishṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Krishna in the Mahābhārata, the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivartta Purāṇas, and other Vaishnava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas though Krishna is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Vishṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 42, and another from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have

[140] The commentator explains *saṁskārāḥ* thus: *Saṁskriyante bodhyante 'bhir lokāḥ iti saṁskārāḥ pravṛitti-nivṛitti-vyavasthā-bodhakāḥ* | "*Sanskāras* are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act." But this cannot well be the sense here.

seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Krishna is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 142) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Krishna, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devakī. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Krishna is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his character as the rishi Nārāyana, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. Even while acting as the ally of the Pandus, he destroys Śiśupāla supernaturally with his discus: And in numerous passages he is identified in the clearest manner with Vishṇu, who again, as I have said, is commonly assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to adduce a variety of passages illustrative of these various assertions.

I. The following short passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Krishna the son of Devakī is mentioned. It is extremely unfortunate that it is so brief; that it leaves us without any particulars of a personage about whom we should have been glad to possess the fullest details, who in after times became so famous as to obtain the honour of deification,—except the meagre information that he was the son of Devakī, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora,[141] and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to every thing else:

Tad ha etad Ghora Āṅgirasaḥ Kṛishṇāya Devakī-putrāya uktvā uvācha

[141] I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connection with Krishṇa in any other work.

apipāsa eva sa babhūva so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "axitam asy achyutam asi prāṇa-saṁśitam asi" iti | "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Krishna the son of Devakī, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [*i.e.* desire], viz.: 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, *Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtile principle of breath.*"

I quote some of the commentator's remarks on this important text:

Tad ha etad yajña-darśanaṁ Ghoro nāmata Āṅgiraso gotrataḥ Kṛishṇāya Devakī-putrāya śishyāya uktvā uvācha tad "etat trayam" ityādi-vyavahitena sambandhaḥ | *sa cha etad darśanaṁ śrutvā apipāsa eva anyābhyo vidyābho babhūva* | *itthaṁ cha viśishṭā iyaṁ vidyā yat Kṛishṇasya Devakī-putrasya anyāṁ vidyām prati tri-vichheda-karī iti purusha-yajña-vidyāṁ stauti* | *Ghora Āṅgirasaḥ Kṛishṇāya uktvā imāṁ vidyāṁ kim uvācha iti tad āha* | *sa evaṁ yathokta-yajña-vid anta-velāyām maraṇa-kāle etan-mantra-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthaḥ* | . . . . . *prāṇa-saṁśitam prāṇasya saṁśitaṁ samyak tanūkṛitañcha sūxmaṁ tattvam asi* . . . . | "A person, Ghora by name, and an Aṅgirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Krishṇa the son of Devakī, his pupil, then said, etc. The connection of the last word 'said,' is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three,' etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the *Purusha*-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Krishṇa, the son of Devakī, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āṅgirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Krishṇa. It was this: 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts . . . . *prāṇa-saṁśitam* means, 'thou art the very minute, subtile principle of breath.' "

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Krishṇa is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the Vana-parva (vv. 1513–1656) in a passage which I shall quote further on, that Arjuna goes to supplicate Mahādeva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the Pāśupata.

At a later stage of the poem (Droṇa-parva, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised

by Krishṇa to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadratha on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Krishṇa hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2838 ff.). Arjuna and Krishṇa then arrive (it does not clearly appear whether mentally or bodily) with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāśudeva (Krishṇa) bows down to the earth:

Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parva, vv. 2862 ff.—*Vāsudevas tu taṁ dṛishṭvā jagāma śirasā xitim | Pārthena saha dharmātmā gṛiṇan brahma sanātanam | lokādiṁ viśva-karmāṇam ajam īśānam avyayam | manasaḥ paramāṁ yoniṁ khaṁ vāyuṁ jyotishām nidhim | srashṭāraṁ vāridhārāṇām bhuvasoha prakṛitim parām | deva-dānava-yaxāṇām mānavānāñcha sādhanam | yogānāñcha param brahma tṛiptam brahma-vidāṁ nidhim | charācharasya srashṭāram pratiharttāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahātmānaṁ śakrasūrya-guṇodayam | vavande taṁ tadā Krishṇo vān-mano-buddhi-karmabhiḥ | yam prapadyanti vidvāṁsaḥ sūxmādhyātma-padaishiṇaḥ | tam ajaṁ kāraṇātmānaṁ jagmatuḥ śaraṇam Bhavam | Arjunaś chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo 'py avandata | jñātvā taṁ sarva-bhūtādim bhūta-bhavya-bhavodbhavam | tatas tāv āgatau dṛishṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | suprasannamanāḥ Sarvaḥ provācha prahasann iva | āgataṁ vāṁ nara-śreshṭhāv uttishṭhetāṁ gata-klamau | kiñcha vām īpsitaṁ vīrau manasaḥ xipram uchyatām | yena kāryeṇa sampṛāptau yuvāṁ tat sādhayami kim | vriyatām ātmanaḥ śreyas tat sarvam pradadāmi vām |*

"The righteous Vāsudeva (Krishṇa) then, together with the son of Pṛithā (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the

oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, Yaxas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Krishna then reverenced him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.[142] Those two [heroes] had recourse to Bhava (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtile and spiritual abode, seek after,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again reverenced that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyana, arrived, Sarva (Mahādeva) then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling: 'Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all.'"

Krishna and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the "soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things" (*viśvātmane viśva-sṛije viśvam āvṛitya tishṭhate*). Arjuna then, after reverencing both Krishna and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the Śatarudriya.[143] Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Krishna and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāśupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

The Anuśāsana-parva also contains several sections in which the

[142] In a passage from the Śāntiparva, which I shall quote further on, Krishna explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations. But Mahādeva himself is here, and in the next passage, identified with the supreme Deity (Brahma).

[143] A hymn from the Yajur veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.

praises of Mahādeva are celebrated at considerable length, and in which he is declared to have been worshipped by Krishṇa. At v. 588 of that book Yudhishthira asks Bhīshma to declare the names of that deity, when the latter replies as follows (vv. 590 ff.):

Aśakto 'haṁ guṇān vaktum Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | yo hi sarva-gato devo na cha sarvatra dṛiśyate | Brahma-Vishṇu-sureśānāṁ śrashṭā chaḥ prabhur eva cha | Brahmādayaḥ Piśāchāntā yaṁ hi devā upāsate | prākṛitīnām paratvena purushasya cha yaḥ paraḥ | chintyate go yoga-vidbhir ṛishibhis tattva-darśibhiḥ | axaram paramam Brahma asachcha sad-asachcha yat | prakṛitim purushaṁchaiva xobhayitvā sva-tejasā | Brāhmāṇam asṛijat tasmād deva-devaḥ prajāpatiḥ | ko hi śakto guṇān vaktuṁ deva-devasya dhīmataḥ | garbha-janma-jarā-yukto martyo mṛityu-samanvitaḥ | ko hi śakto Bhavaṁ jñātum mad-vidhaḥ Parameśvaram | ṛite Nārāyaṇāt puttra śaṇkha-chakra-gadā-dharāt | esha vidvān guṇa-śreshṭhō Vishṇuḥ parama-durjayaḥ | divya-chaxur mahātejā vīxyate [vīxate?] yoga-chaxushā | Rudra-bhaktyā tu Kṛishṇena jagad vyāptam mahātmanā | tam prasādya tadā devaṁ Badaryyām kila Bhārata | arthāt[144] priyataratvaṁ chā sarva-lokeshu vai tadā | prāptavān eva rājendra suvarṇāxād Maheśvarāt | pūrṇaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu taptavān esha Mādhavaḥ | prasādya varadaṁ devaṁ charāchara-guruṁ Śivam | yuge yuge tu Kṛishṇena toshito vai Maheśvaraḥ | bhaktyā parāmayā chaivā prītaśchaiva mahātmanaḥ | aiśvaryyaṁ yādṛiśaṁ tasyā jagad-yoner mahātmanaḥ | tad ayaṁ dṛishṭavān sāxāt puttrārthe Harir achyutaḥ | tasmāt parataraṁchaiva nānyam paśyāmi Bhārata | vyākhyātuṁ deva-devasya śakto namāny aśeshataḥ | esha śakto mahābāhur vaktum bhagavato guṇān | vibhūtiṁchaivā kārtsnyena satyām māheśvarīm nṛipa |

"I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahādeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmā to the Piśāchas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit (Purusha), who is meditated upon by rishis versed in contemplation (*yoga*), and possessing an insight into truth, who is the supreme, imperishable Brahma, that which is both nonexistent, and at once existent and nonexistent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajāpati) thence created

[144] The MS. of the Mahābhārata in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *amṛit*.

Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this] except Nārāyana, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club? This Vishṇu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds[145] [him] with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Krishna. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Krishna) obtained from the golden-eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth (?). This Mādhava (Krishna) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Śiva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (*yuga*) Maheśvara has been propitiated by Krishna, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Krishna), when [seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him (Mahādeva ?) I behold none greater. This long-armed [Krishna] is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine [being], and the real might of Maheśvara in all its extent."

Bhīshma then calls upon Krishṇa (whom he designates as Vishṇu, and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras) to celebrate Mahādeva's greatness. Krishṇa accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

Na gatiḥ karmaṇāṁ śakyā vettum īśasya tattvataḥ | Hiraṇyagarbha-pramukhā devāḥ sendrā maharshayaḥ | na vidur yasya bhavanam Ādityāḥ sūxma-darśinaḥ | sa katham nara-mātreṇa śakyo jñātuṁ satāṁ gatiḥ | tasyāham asura-ghnasya kāṁśchid bhagavato guṇān | bhavatāṁ kīrtia-yishyāmi vrateśāya [vrateśasya ?] yathātatham | "The course of the deeds of Iśa (Mahādeva), cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiraṇyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Adityas the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies."

[145] The printed text reads *vīxyate* "is beheld," but the sense seems to require *vīxate*, "beholds."

Krishṇa then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavatī (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys [146] (*kapīndra-putrī*, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.):

Na hi te 'prāpyam astīha trishu lokeshu kiñchana | lokān sṛijes tvam aparān ichhan Yadu-kulodvaha | tvayā dvādaśa-varshāṇi vratībhūtena śushyatā | ārādhya paśubharttāraṁ Rukminyāṁ janitāḥ sutāḥ | "For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Krishna). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds. By thee after twelve years' fasting and mortification,[147] and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukminī (another of his wives)."

Krishna promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavatī's wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial bird Garuḍa to the Himālaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv. 634–652).[148] Krishṇa enters and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu (v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658).[149] The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishṇu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

Hiraṇyakaśipur yo 'bhūd dānavo Meru-kampanaḥ | tena sarvāmaraiś-varyyaṁ Sarvāt prāptaṁ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutaḥ | Mahādeva-varāch chhakraṁ varshārbudam ayodhayat | Vishṇoś chakrañcha tad ghoraṁ vajram Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śīrṇam purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvaṁ dattaṁ

[146] He is, however, called king of the bears in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, p. 547.

[147] This twelve years' austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the Anuśāsana-parva, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6889. As Krishna is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

[148] One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: *Krīḍanti sarpair nakulā mṛigair vyāghrāścha mitra-vat | prabhāvād dīpta-tapasāṁ sannikarshād mahātmanām |* "Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents, and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones."—Compare Isaiah, xi. 6 ff: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," etc.

[149] In v. 655 the appellation *puṇḍarīkāxa*, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 659, that of *adhoxaja*, are applied to Krishṇa.

chakraṁ tavānagha | jalāntara-charaṁ hatvā daityañcha bala-garvitam | utpāditaṁ Vṛishāṅkena dīptaṁ jvalana-sannibhaṁ | dattam bhagavatā tubhyaṁ durdharshaṁ tejasā 'dbhutam | na śakyaṁ drashṭum anyena varjayitvā Pināķinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavenoktaṁ tadā tu tat | Sudarśanaṁ tadā tasya loke nāma pratishṭhitam | taj jīrṇam abhavat tāta Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | Grahasyātibalasyāṅge varadattasya dhīmataḥ | na śastrāṇi vahanty aṅge chakraṁ vajra-śatāny api | ardamānāścha vibudhā Graheṇa subalīyasā | Śiva-datta-varān jaghnur asurendrān Surā bhṛiśam |

"Hiraṇyakaśipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Sarva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Vishṇu and the thunderbolt of Akhaṇḍala (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Daitya, proud of his strength, was produced by Mahādeva.[150] Bestowed upon thee by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pināķin (the bearer of the bow, *i.e.* Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Śiva."

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (*mūrdhany āghrāya*) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.) In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the follow-

[150] In an account of Krishṇa's exploits in the Droṇa-parva, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni: *Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutāśanam | Āgneyam astraṁ durdharshaṁ chakraṁ lebhe mahābalaḥ |* In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (*śaṅkha*) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

ing are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance,[161] naked, with excited look (v. 742: *krīḍate ṛishi-kanyābhir ṛishi-patnībhir eva cha | ūrddha-keśo mahāśepho nagno vikṛita-lochanaḥ |*) He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.) Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon however great at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate at some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784–829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.):

Hetubhir vā kim anyais tair īśaḥ kāraṇa-kāraṇam | na śuśruma yad anyasya lingam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvair lingam

[161] Literally, *ingenti membro virili procedit.*

muktvā Maheśvaram | archyate 'rchita-pūrvaṁ vā brūhi yady asti te śrutiḥ | yasya Brahmā cha Vishṇuś cha tvaṁ chāpi saha daivataiḥ | archayethāḥ sadā liṅgaṁ tasmāch chhreshṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmāṅkā na chakrāṅkā na vajrāṅkā yataḥ prajāḥ | liṅgāṅkā cha bhagāṅkā cha tasmād Māheśvarī prajā | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janitā[ḥ] sarvā bhagāṅkā[ḥ] striyo liṅgenāpi Harasya sarva-purushāḥ pratyaxa-chihnākṛitāḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam īśvarāt pravadate devyā cha yad nāṅkitaṁ trailokye sa-charācharo sa tu pumān vāhyo bhaved durmatiḥ | puṁliṅgaṁ sarvam Īśanaṁ strī-liṅgaṁ viddhi chāpy Umām | dvābhyāṁ tanubhyāṁ vyāptaṁ hi charācharam idaṁ jagat | "Is Īśa (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Maheśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Vishṇu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's), nor of the discus (Vishṇu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things moveable or immoveable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Īśana, and all that is female to be Umā, for this whole world, moveable and immoveable, is pervaded by [these] two bodies."

Indra is not much pleased with this address; but Mahādeva himself appears with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837–841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Vishṇu stand on Mahādeva's right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869, f.):

Savya-deśe tu devasya Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | divyaṁ vimānam āsthāya haṁsa-yuktam mano-javam | vāma-pārśva-gataś chāpi tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ sthitaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | . . . . .
875 f. *Astuvan vividhaiḥ stotrair Mahādevaṁ surās tadā | Brahmā Bhavaṁ tadā 'staushīd rathantaram udīrayan | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deveśaṁ jagau Nārāyaṇas tadā | gṛiṇan brahma paraṁ Sakraḥ śata-rudriyam*

uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyaṇaś chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikaḥ | aśobhanta mahātmānas trayas traya ivāgnayaḥ | 869. "On the left (right?) of the god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Narayana (Vishṇu) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus, and club. . . . . 875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā celebrated him, reciting the *rathantara*, while Nārāyana hymned the god of gods with the *jyeshṭha sāman*, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent *Satarudriya*. Brahmā, Nārāyana, and the king of the gods (Indra) the son of Kuśika,[152] the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires."

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880–923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god's condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

Sa esha bhagavān devaḥ sarva-sattvādir avyayaḥ | sarva-tattva-vidhāna-jñaḥ pradhāna-purushaḥ paraḥ | yo 'sṛijad daxiṇād aṇgād Brahmāṇaṁ loka-saṁbhavam | vāma-pārśvāt tathā Vishṇuṁ loka-raxārtham Īśvaraḥ | yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudram Īśo 'sṛijat prabhur ity ādi | "This is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Purusha (or the principal Purusha), the supreme; who, the lord, created from his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Vishṇu, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end of the age (*yuga*) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra," etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (*xīraudana*) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (*sānnidhya*) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945, ff.). The god bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Krishṇa expresses a

[152] The epithet of *Kauśika* is given to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11.

desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Krishṇa in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent, and devout person as he (Krishṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Krishṇa is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Vishṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, uttering the rathantara sāma (*Śatakratuś cha bhagavān Vishṇuś chāditi-nandanaḥ | Brahmā rathantaraṁ sāma ǐrayanti Bhavāntike*). Krishṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

*Purastād dhishṭhitaḥ Sarvo mamāsīt tridaśeśvaraḥ | purastād dhishṭhitaṁ dṛishṭvā mameśānañcha Bhārata | sa-Prajāpatī-Śakrāntaṁ jagad mām abhyudaixata | ǐxituṁ cha Mahādevaṁ na me śaktir abhūt tadā | tato mām abravīd devaḥ "paśya Kṛishṇa vadasva cha | tvayā hy ārādhitaś chāhaṁ śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ | tvat-samo nāsti me kaśchit trishu lokeshu vai priyaḥ" | śirasā vandite deve devī prītā hy Umā 'bhavat | tato 'ham abruvam Sthāṇuṁ stutam Brahmādibhiḥ suraiḥ | "*Before me stood Śiva the lord of the gods. Beholding, as I then did, Iśāna standing before me—the world from Prajāpati to Śakra (Indra) gazed upon me (?)—I had no power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, 'Behold, Krishṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me as thou.' The god having been reverenced by obeisance, the goddess Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthāṇu (Mahādeva) who had been praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods."

Krishṇa proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002–1018) as the supreme Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): *Vidmaḥ Krishṇa parāṁ bhaktim asmāsu tava śatruhan | vriyatām atmanaḥ śreyaḥ prītir hi tvayi me parā | vriṇīshvāshṭau varān Kṛishṇa dātāśmi 'tava sattama | brūhi Yādava-śārdūla yān ichhasi sudurlabhān |* "We know, Krishṇa, slayer of foes, thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee, for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them

to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons which are most difficult to obtain." Krishṇa then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2) the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the greatest strength, (5) abstraction (*yoga*), (6) amiability (*priyatvam*), (7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill of the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4) eminent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and his spouse then disappeared, and Krishṇa related to Upamanyu all that had happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story about a rishi called Taṇḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva, in the Kṛita age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049–1103) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Vishṇu did not perfectly know (vv. 1052, and 1103–5). Taṇḍi had come to Upamanyu's hermitage and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Krishṇa (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mṛityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Taṇḍi, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Krishṇa:

Aśubhaiḥ pāpakarmāṇo ye narāḥ kalushīkṛitāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapadyante tamo-rājasa-vṛittayaḥ | Īśvaraṁ samprapadyante dvijā bhāvita-bhāvanāḥ | sarvathā varttamāno 'pi yo bhaktaḥ parameśvare | sadṛiśo 'ranyavāsānāṁ munīnām bhāvitātmanām | Brahmatvaṁ Keśavatvaṁ cha Śakratvaṁ vā suraiḥ saha | trailokyasyādhipatyaṁ vā tushṭo Rudraḥ prayachhati ityādi | "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Iśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Iśvara. The man who is devoted to Maheśvara—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava

(Keśava is a name of Krishṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parva, 7402 ff., Krishṇa relates to Yudishṭhira the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Durvāsas (an incarnation of Śiva, as it is stated below, pp. 166, 169) who, among other tricks, had yoked Krishṇa's wife Rukminī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Krishṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukminī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Krishṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Krishṇa performed an *Upānśu* rite, *i.e.* muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Durvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudishṭhira then says to Krishṇa (vv. 7458 ff.: *Durvāsasaḥ prasādāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | avāptam iha vijñānaṁ tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | mahābhāgyaṁcha yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanaḥ | tattvato jñātum ichhāmi sarvam matimatāṁ vara | Vāsudeva uvācha | Hanta te kīrttayishyāmi namaskṛitya Kapardine | yad avāptam mayā rājan śreyo yach chārjjitāṁ yaśaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad adhīye viśāmpate | prāñjaliḥ śatarudrīyaṁ tan me nigadataḥ śṛiṇu | Prajāpatis tat sasṛije tapaso 'nte mahātapāḥ | Śaṅkaras tv asṛijat tāta prajāḥ sthāvara-jaṅgamāḥ | nāsti kiñchit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trishv api lokeshu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivotsahate sthātuṁ kiñchid agre mahātmanaḥ | na hi bhūtaṁ samaṁ tena trishu lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi saṅgrāme tasya kruddhasya śatravaḥ | visañjñā hata-bhūyishṭhā vepanto cha patanti cha | ghoraṁcha ninadaṁ tasya Parjanya-ninadopamam | śrutvā viśīryed hṛidayaṁ devānām api saṁyuge | yāṁścha ghoreṇa rūpeṇa paśyet kruddhaḥ pināka-dhṛik | na surā nāsurā loke na gandharvā na pannagāḥ | kupite sukham edhante tasminn api guhāgatāḥ | Prajāpates tu Daxasya yajato vitate kratau | vivyādha kupito yajñaṁ nirbhayas tv abhavat tadā | dhanushā vāṇam utsṛijya saghoshaṁ vinanāda cha | tena śarma kutaḥ śāntiṁ vishādaṁ lebhire surāḥ | viddhe cha sahasā yajñe kupite cha Maheśvare | tena jyā-tala-ghoshena sarve lokāḥ samākulāḥ | babhūvur avaśāḥ Pārtha vishedaś cha surāsurāḥ | āpaś chuxubhire chaiva chakampe cha vasundharā | vyadravan giriryaś chāpi dyauḥ paphāla cha*

sarvaśaḥ | andhena tamasā lokāḥ prāvṛitā na chakāśire | praṇashṭā jyotishām bhāś cha saha sūryeṇa Bhārata | bhṛiśam bhītās tataḥ śāntiṁ chakruḥ svastyayanāni cha | ṛishayaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ātmanaś cha hitaishiṇaḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyadravad devān Rudro raudra-parākramaḥ | Bhagasya nayane kruddhaḥ prahāreṇa vyaśātayat | Pūshāṇaṁ chābhidudrāva pādena cha rushānvitaḥ | puroḍāśam bhaxayato daśanāṁś cha vyaśātayat | tataḥ praṇemur devāś te vepamānās tu Saṅkaram | punaś cha sandadhe Rudro dīptaṁ suniśitaṁ śaram | Rudrasya vikramaṁ dṛishṭvā bhītā devāḥ saharshibhiḥ | tataḥ prasādayāmasuḥ sarve te vibudhottamāḥ | jepuś cha śata-rudrīyaṁ devāḥ kṛitvā 'ñjaliṁ tadā | saṁstūyamānas tridaśaiḥ prasasāda Maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya bhāgaṁ yajñe cha viśishṭaṁ te tv akalpayan | bhayena tridaśā rājan śaraṇaṁ cha prapedire | tena chaiva hi dushṭena (tushṭena ?) sa yajño sandhito 'bhavat | yad yach chāpahṛitaṁ tatra tat tathaiva sa jīvayat | Asurāṇām purāṇy āsaṁs trīṇi vīryyavatām divi | āyasaṁ rājataṁ chaiva sauvarṇam api chāparam | nāśakat tāni Maghavā bhettuṁ sarvāyudhair api | atha sarve Mahārudraṁ jagmuḥ śaraṇam arditāḥ | tata ūchur mahātmāno devāḥ sarve samāgatāḥ | Rudra raudrā bhavishyanti paśavaḥ sarva-karmasu | jahi daityān saha purair lokāṁs trāyasva mānada | sa tathoktas tathety uktvā kṛitvā Vishṇuṁ śarottamam | śalyam Agniṁ tathā kṛitvā puṅkhaṁ Vaivasvataṁ yamam | vedān kṛitvā dhanuḥ sarvān jyāṁ cha sāvitrīm uttamām | Brahmāṇaṁ sārathiṁ kṛitvā viniyujya cha sarvaśaḥ | triparvaṇā triśalyena kāle tāni bibheda saḥ | śareṇāditya-varṇena kālāgni-sāma-tejasā | te śurāḥ sa-purās tatra dagdhā Rudreṇa Bhārata | taṁ chaivāṅka-gataṁ dṛishṭvā bālam pañchaśikham punaḥ | Umā jijñāsamānā vai ko 'yam ity abravīt tadā | asūyataś cha Śakrasya vajreṇa praharishyataḥ | sa vajraṁ stambhayāmāsa tam bāhum parighopamam | na sambubudhire chaiva devās tam bhuvaneśvaram | sa-prajāvatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahatīśvare | tato dhyātvā tu bhagavān Brahmā tam amitaujasam | ayaṁ śreshṭha iti jñātvā vavande tam Umā-patim | tataḥ prasādayāmāsur Umāṁ Rudraṁ cha te suraḥ | babhūva sa tadā bāhur balahantur yathā purā | sa chāpi brāhmaṇo bhūtvā Durvāsā nāma vīryyavān | Dvāravatyāṁ mama pure chiraṁ kālam upāvasat | viprakārān prayuṅkte sma subahūn mama veśmani | tān udāratayā chāhaṁ chaxame chāti-duḥsahān | sa vai Rudraḥ sa cha Śivaḥ so 'gniḥ Sarvaḥ sa sarva-jit | sa vai chendraś cha Vāyuś cha so 'śvinau sa cha Vidyutaḥ | sa chandramāḥ sa cheśānaḥ sa Sūryo Varuṇaś cha saḥ | sa kālaḥ so 'ntako mṛityuḥ sa tamo rātry ahāni cha | māsār-

dha-māsā ṛitavaḥ sandhye saṁvatsaraś cha saḥ | ṣa dhātā sa vidhātā cha viśvakarmā sa sarva-vit | naxatrāṇi grahāś chaiva diśo 'tha vidiśaś tathā | viśva-mūrttir ameyātmā bhagavān amara-dyutiḥ | ekadhā cha dvidhā chaiva bahudhā cha sa evi hi | tathā sahasradhā chaiva tathā śata-sahasraśaḥ | īdṛiśaḥ sa Mahādevo bhūmaḥ sa bhagavān ajaḥ | na hi śakyā guṇā vaktum api varsha-śatair api | Yudhishthira mahābāho mahābhāgyam mahātmanaḥ | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpāya bahu-nāmne nibodha me | Vadanty Agnim Mahādevaṁ tathā Sthāṇum Maheśvaram | ekāxam tryambakaṁ chaiva viśva-rūpaṁ Śivaṁ tathā | dve tanū tasya devasya brāhmaṇā veda-jñā viduḥ | ghorāṁ anyāṁ śivām anyāṁ te tanū bahudhā punaḥ | ugrā ghorā tanūr yā sā so 'gnir vidyut sa bhāskaraḥ | śivā saumyā cha yā tv asya dharmas tv āpo 'tha chandramāḥ | ātmano 'rddhaṁ tu tasyāgniḥ somo 'rddham punar uchyate | brahmacharyyaṁ charaty ekā śivā yā 'sya tanus tathā | yā 'sya ghoratamā mūrttir jagat saṁharate tadā | īśvaratvād mahattvāch cha Maheśvara iti smṛitaḥ | yad nirdahati yat tīxṇo yad ugro yat pratāpavān | māṁsa-śoṇita-majjādo yat tato Rudra uchyate | devānāṁ sumahān yach cha yach chāsya vishayo mahān | yach cha viśvam mahat pāti Mahādevas tataḥ smṛitaḥ | dhūmra-rūpaṁ cha yat tasya dhūrjatīty ata uchyate | sa medhayati yad nityaṁ sarvān vai sarva-karmabhiḥ | manushyān śivam anvichhaṁs tasmād eva Śivaḥ smṛitaḥ | ityādi

Anuśāsana-parva, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishthira says to Krishṇa: "Thou oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou then obtainedst by the favour of Durvāsas. I wish, most eminent of sages, to know exactly all the grandeur of that great Being, and his names. Vāsudeva replies: Yes, I shall declare to thee, after bowing down before the god with the braided hair (Mahādeva), the happiness which was obtained by me, and the glory which was acquired. Hear from me, o king, the Śatarudrīya, which, when risen in the morning, I intently repeat with joined hands. The great devotee, Prajāpati, created that [prayer[153]] at the end of his austerity. Śankara has created [all] beings, stationary and moving. There is nothing, o king, which exists superior to Mahādeva; for he is the most excellent of beings in all these three worlds. And nothing can stand before this great deity; for there is no being like him in the three worlds. In battle, when he is even in the slightest degree (*lit.* 'even by a scent')

[153] It is a part of the Veda. Compare Part III. of this work, on the modes in which the Veda is conceived to have been produced.

incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless, and mostly slain. And the heart even of the gods would be withered in battle, on hearing his dreadful voice, resembling the sound of Parjanya (*i.e.* of the thunder clouds). And neither gods, nor Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor Pannagas, nor whomsoever the Holder of the bow (Mahādeva), incensed, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajāpati Daxa was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud sound. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Maheśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the puroḍāśa offering. The gods trembling then made obeisance to Śankara, and he again fitted on the string (?) the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with joined hands, muttered the Śatarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Maheśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as their refuge. He then became pleased and replaced the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before. There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold,[151] which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there

[151] See the Second Part of this work, pp. 396 ff., and the Karṇa-parva, vv. 1402 ff., below.

shall be beasts devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it;' and making Vishṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,[155] he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra. Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks (?), Umā, desiring to know, asked, 'Who is this?' And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and that arm resembling a club. All the gods, including Prajāpati, did not understand the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant?]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Śiva, he is Agni, he is Sarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Aśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Sūrya, he is Varuṇa, he is time, he is death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātṛi, and Vidhātṛi, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions or [points], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast (?), the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Krishṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudishthira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Sthāṇu,

[155] See the story from the Karṇa-parva, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

Maheśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Śiva. Brahmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious; and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his aupicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (*īśvara*) and great (*mahat*), he is called *Maheśvara*. Since he consumes, since he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjaṭi. Since he constantly directs all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (*śiva*), he is therefore called Śiva," etc. etc.

In the Bhīshma-parva (vv. 793 ff.) Krishṇa is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā:

Saṅjaya uvācha | Dhārttarāshṭram balaṁ dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam | Arjunasya hitārthāya Kṛishṇo vachanam abravīṭ | Śrī-bhagavān uvācha | Śuchir bhūtvā mahābāho saṅgrāmābhimukhe sthitaḥ | parājayāya śatrūnāṁ Durgā-stotram udīraya | Saṅjaya uvācha | evam ukto 'rjunaḥ saṅkhye Vāsudevena dhīmatā | avatīryya rathāt Pārthaḥ stotram āha kṛitāñjaliḥ |

"Beholding the host of Dhṛitarāshṭra come near to the conflict, Krishṇa, for the good of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: 'Having purified thyself, o large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.' Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands."

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 142, note 134) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahābhārata the divine nature of Krishṇa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabhā-parva, in which Śiśupāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Krishṇa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhisthira having proposed to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice, numerous kings assembled to witness the celebration (Sabhā-parva, 1260 ff.) On this occasion Bhīshma proposed that apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Kṛishṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parva, 1333 ff.:—*Esha hy eshāṁ samastānāṁ tejo-bala-parākramaiḥ | madhye.tapann ivābhāti jyotishām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryeṇa nirvāta[m?] iva vāyunā | bhāsitaṁ hlāditaṁ chaiva Kṛishṇenedaṁ sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīshmābhyanujñātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpavan | upajahre 'tha vidhivad Vārshṇeyāyārgham uttamam | pratijagrāha tat Kṛishṇaḥ śāstra-dishṭena karmaṇā | Śiśupalas tu tām pūjāṁ Vāsudeve na chakame |* "For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is enlightened and gladdened by Krishṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīshma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārshṇeya (Krishṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra."

Śiśupāla, as I have said, could not endure that this compliment should have been paid to Krishṇa, and states at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Krishṇa was a "transgressor of the injunctions of law (*smṛiti*), a contemptible and ill-instructed person" (v. 1340: *Ayaṁ cha smṛity atikrānto hy apageyo 'lpa-darśanaḥ);* that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: *Athavā manyase Kṛishṇaṁ sthaviraṁ Kurū-puṅgava | Vasudeve sthite vṛiddhe katham arhati tat-sutaḥ |*); that in in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1474 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered (v. 1364: *Ayuktām ātmanaḥ pūjāṁ tvam punar bahu manyase | havishaḥ prāpya nisyandam prāśitā śveva nirjane |*). Having thus vented his indignation, Śiśupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhisthira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīshma then defends Krishṇa's claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.).

Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo 'chyutaḥ | trayāṇām api lokānām archanīyo mahābhujaḥ | Kṛishṇena hi jitā yuddhe bahavaḥ xatriyarshabhāḥ | jagat sarvaṁ cha Vārshṇeye nikhilena pratisthṭhitam | tasmāt satsv api vṛiddheshu Kṛishṇam archāmi netarān | . . . . 1382: *Nā kevalaṁ vayaṁ kāmāch Chedi-rāja Janārdanam | na sambandhām puraskṛitya kṛitārthaṁ vā kathañchana | archāmahe 'rchitaṁ sadbhir bhuvi bhūta-sukhāvaham | Yaśaḥ śauryaṁ jayaṁ chāsya vijñāyārchām prayujmahe | na cha kaśchid ihāsmābhiḥ subālo 'py aparīxitaḥ | guṇair vṛiddhān atikramya Harir archyatamo mataḥ | jñāna-vṛiddho dvijātīnāṁ xatriyāṇām balādhikaḥ |* "1377: This unfalling being (Achyuta) is not only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Xatriyas have been conquered by Krishṇa: and the whole world rests upon Vārshṇeya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Krishṇa and not the others. . . . . "1382: It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connection, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Xatriyas." . . . .

1386: *Pūjyatāyāñcha Govinde hetū dvāv api saṁsthitau | veda-vedāṅga-vijñānam balaṁ chāpy adhikaṁ tathā | nṛiṇāṁ loke hi ko 'nyo 'sti viśishṭaḥ Keśavād ṛite | dānaṁ dāxyaṁ śrutaṁ śauryaṁ hṛīḥ kīrttir buddhir uttamā | sannatiḥ śrīr dhṛitis tushṭiḥ pushṭiścha niyatā 'chyute | tam imaṁ loka-sampannam ācāryam pitaraṁ gurum | arghyam arohitam archārhaṁ sarve saṁxantum arhatha | ṛitvig gurur vivāhyaś cha snātako nṛipatiḥ priyaḥ | sarvaṁ etad Hṛishīkeśas tasmād abhyarchito 'chyutaḥ | Kṛishṇa eva hi lokānām utpattir api chāpyayaḥ | Kṛishṇasya hi kṛite viśvam idam bhūtaṁ charācharam | esha prakṛitir avyaktā karttā chaiva sanātanaḥ | paraś cha sarva-bhūtebhyaś tasmād pūjyatamo 'chyutaḥ | Buddhir mano mahad vāyus tejo 'mbhaḥ kham mahī cha yā | chaturvidhaṁ cha yad bhūtam sarvaṁ Kṛishṇe pratisthṭhitam | . . . . .* 1396: *Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Keśavo mukham | ayaṁ tu purusho bālaḥ Śiśupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadā Kṛishnaṁ*

tasmād evam prabhāshate | yo hi dharmaṁ vichinuyād utkṛishṭam matimān naraḥ | sa vai paśyed yathā dharmaṁ na tathā Chedi-rāḍ ayam | sa-vṛiddha-bāleshv athāvā pārthiveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyate Kṛishṇaṁ ko vā py enaṁ na pūjayet | athainām dushkṛitām pūjāṁ Śiśupālō vyavasyati | dushkṛitāyāṁ yathānyāyaṁ tathā 'yaṁ karttum arhati |

"There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedāngas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Keśava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hrishīkesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Krishṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this universe, moveable and immoveable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Krishṇa.[165] He is undistinguishable matter (*prakṛiti*) and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (*mahat*), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Krishṇa. . . . . 1396: The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, Śiśupāla, does not know that Krishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Krishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? Śiśupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting."

Śiśupāla afterwards renews his denunciations of Krishṇa, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

[165] The grounds urged for honouring Krishṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of Krishṇa's qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.

1433. *Śiśupāla uvācha | vibhīshikābhir bahvībhir bhīshayan sarva-pārthivān | na vyapatrapase kasmād vriddhaḥ san kula-pāṁsanaḥ | yuktam etat tritīyāyām prakṛitau varttatā tvayā | vaktuṁ dharmād apetārthaṁ tvaṁ hi sarva-kurūttama[ḥ] | nāvi naur iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho vā 'ndham anviyāt | tathā bhūtā hi Kauravyā yeshām Bhīshma tvam agranīḥ | Pūtanā-ghāta-pūrvāṇi karmāṇy asya viśeshataḥ | tvayā kīrttayatā 'smākam bhūyaḥ pravyathitam manaḥ | avaliptasya mūrkhasya Keśavaṁ stotuṁ ichhataḥ | katham Bhīshma na te jihvā śatadheyaṁ vidīryyate | yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhīshma bālatarair naraiḥ | tam imaṁ jñāna-vriddhaḥ san gopam saṁstotum ichhasi | yady anena hatā bālye śakuniś chitram atra kim | tau vā 'śva-vrishabhau Bhīshma yau na yuddha-viśāradau | chetanā-rahitaṁ kāshṭhaṁ yady anena nipātitam | pādena śakaṭam Bhīshma tatra kiṁ kṛitam adbhutam | valmīka-mātraḥ saptāhaṁ yady anena dhṛito 'chalaḥ | tadā Govardhano Bhīshma na tach chitram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahv annaṁ krīḍatā naga-mūrdhani | iti te Bhīshma śṛiṇvānāḥ paraṁ vismayam āgatāḥ | yasya chānena dharma-jña bhuktam annam balīyasaḥ | sa chānena hataḥ Kaṁsaḥ ity etan na mahādhutam | na te śrutam idam Bhīshma nūnaṁ kathayatāṁ satām | yad vakṣye tvām adharma-jñaṁ vākyaṁ Kuru-kulādhama | strīshu goshu na śastrāṇi pātayed brāhmaṇeshu cha | yasya chānnāni bhuñjīta yasya cha syāt pratiśrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśāsanti sajjanaṁ dharmiṇaḥ sadā | Bhīshma loke hi tat sarvaṁ vitathaṁ tvayi dṛiśyate | jñāna-vriddhaṁ cha vriddhaṁ cha bhūyāṁsaṁ Keśavam mama | ajānata ivākhyāsi saṁstuvan Kauravādhama | go-ghnaḥ strī-ghnaś cha san Bhīshma tvad-vākyād yadi pūjyate | evam-bhūtaś cha yo Bhīshma kathaṁ saṁstavam arhati | . . .*
1451. *Nūnam prakṛitir eshā te jaghanyā nātra saṁśayaḥ | ataḥ pāpīyaśī chaishām Pāṇḍavānām apīshyate | yeshām archyatamaḥ Kṛishṇas tvaṁ cha yeshām pradarśakaḥ | dharmavāṁs tvam adharma-jñaḥ satām mārgād avaplutaḥ | ityādi |*

Śiśupāla answers Bhīshma: "How is it that thou, disgracing thy race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with many alarming [speeches]? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now existing in the neuter gender (*i.e.* an old man, and passionless) shouldst utter things contrary to righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus! For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another, so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, Bhīshma, art the leader. Our minds have frequently been harassed by

thee when detailing his (Krishṇa's) slaughter of Pūtanā[157] and other feats. How is it, Bhīshma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Keśava? Thou who art ripe in knowledge, art eager to eulogise the cowherd who ought to be vilified even by the silliest of men! If in his childhood he slew Śakuni (or the bird), or the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder? If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot,[158] what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana, a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,[159] I do not regard that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, o Bhīshma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīshma, basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women, cattle, or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent?' Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pupil]. All this, Bhīshma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is to be reverenced,—how, Bhīshma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shewn to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Krishṇa is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!"

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhīshma from assaulting Śiśupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīshma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of Śiśupāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the

[157] A female demon slain by Krishṇa.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 506.

[158] See Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 508.

[159] See Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 526.

time fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's enquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Krishṉa came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.[160] On seeing this, his mother begged a boon from Krishṉa, viz., that he would forgive S'iśupāla's offences. Krishṉa promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīshma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

Evam esha nṛipaḥ pāpaḥ S'iśupālaḥ sumanda-dhīḥ | tvām̃ samāhvayate vīra Govinda-vara-darpitaḥ | Naishā Chedi-pater buddhir yayā tvā 'hvayate 'chyutam | nūnam esha jagad-bharttuḥ Kṛishṉasyaiva viniśchayaḥ | ko hi mām Bhīmasenādya xitāv arhati pārthivaḥ | xeptum̃ kāla-parītātmā yathaisha kula-pām̃sanaḥ | esha hy asya mahābāhus tejo 'm̃śaś cha Harer dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum ichhaty uta tathā vibhuḥ | yenaisha Kuru-śārdūla śārdūla iva Chedi-rāṭ | garjaty atīva durbuddhiḥ sarvān asmān achintayan |

"Thus this wicked king S'iśupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, o hero. This does not shew wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Krishṉa, the sustainer of the world, 'What king on earth, o Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?' For this large-armed (S'iśupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in

[160] On this story of S'iśupāla Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. 674): "S'iśupāla here represents S'iva, and the conflict of the S'iva-worship with that of Vishṉu: for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the disappearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Krishṉa. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Krishṉa's deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāsandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performs actions unworthy of a god: but there are evident beginnings of his deification." The same author adds in a note on the same page: "S'iśupāla is probably an earlier name of S'iva, who is called *Paśupati*, or lord, protector, of beasts. *S'iśu* denotes the young of men and beasts, and *pāla* protector. He had a second name *Sunītha* (Sabhāp. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."

consequence of which, o chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

Śiśupāla here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.) and asks why Krishṇa should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhīshma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhīshma should be killed or burned. Bhīshma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Krishṇa, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that anyone who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Śiśupāla hereupon challenges Krishṇa; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verses 1561 ff.): *Tataḥ śrutvaiva Bhīshmasya Chedi-rāḍ uru-vikramaḥ | yuyutsur Vāsudevena Vāsudevam uvācha ha | āhvaye tvāṁ raṇaṁ gachha mayā sārddhaṁ Janārdana | yāvad adya nihanmi tvāṁ sahitaṁ sarva-Pāṇḍavaiḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ sarvathā Kṛishṇa Pāṇḍavāḥ | nṛipatīn samatikramya yair arājā tvam architaḥ | ye tvāṁ dāsam arājānam bālyād archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Kṛishṇa badhyās te iti me matiḥ | ity uktvā rāja-śārdūla[s?]tasthau garjann amarshaṇaḥ | evam ukte tataḥ Kṛishṇo mṛidu-pūrvam idaṁ vachaḥ | uvācha pārthivān sarvān sa samaxaṁ cha Pāṇḍavān | esha naḥ śatrur atyantam pārthivāḥ Sātvatī-sutaḥ | Sātvatānāṁ nṛiśaṁsātmā nahito 'napakāriṇām | Prāgjyotisha-puram yātān asmān jñātvā nṛiśaṁsa-kṛit | adahad Dvārakām esha svasrīyaḥ san narādhipāḥ | krīḍato Bhoja-rājasya esha Raivatake girau | hatvā baddhvā cha tān sarvān upāyāt sva-puram purā | aśvamedhe hayam medhyam utsṛishṭaṁ raxibhir vṛitam | pitur me yajña-vighnārtham aharat pāpa-niśchayaḥ | Sauvīrān pratiyātāñcha Babhror esha tapasvinaḥ | bhāryām abhyaharad mohād akāmā[ñ?] tām ito gatām | esha māyā-pratichchannaḥ Kārūshārthe tapasvinīm | jahāra bhadrāṁ Vaiśālīm mātulasya nṛiśaṁsa-vat | pitṛi-svasuḥ kṛite duḥkhaṁ sumahad marshayāmy aham | dishṭyā hīdaṁ sarva-rājñāṁ sannidhāv adya varttate | paśyanti hi bhavanto 'dya mayy atīva vyatikramam | kṛitāni tu paroxam me yāni tāni nibodhata | imaṁ tv asya na śaxyāmi xantum adya vyatikramam | avalepād badhārhasya samagre rāja-maṇḍale | Rukminyām asya mūḍhasya prārthanāsīd mumūrshataḥ | na cha tām prāptavān mūḍhaḥ śūdraḥ veda-śrutīm iva | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahitās te narādhipāḥ | Vāsudeva-vachaḥ śrutvā Chedi-rājaṁ vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā*

Śiśupālaḥ pratāpavān | jahāsa svanavaddhāsaṁ vākyaṁ chedam uvācha ha | mat-pūrvām Rukmiṇīṁ Kṛishṇa saṁsatsu parikīrttayan | viśeshataḥ pārthiveshu vrīḍāṁ na kurushe katham | manyamāno hi kaḥ satsu purushaḥ parikīrttayet | anya-pūrvāṁ striyaṁ jātu tvad-anyo Madhusūdana | xama vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā Kṛishṇa mama xama | kruddhād vā 'pi prasannād vā kiṁ me tvatto bhavishyati | tathā bruvata evāsya bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | manasā 'chintayach chakraṁ daitya-garva-nisūdanam | etasminn eva kāle tu chakre hasta-gate sati | uvācha bhagavān uchchair vākyaṁ vākya-viśāradaḥ | śṛiṇvantu me mahīpālā yenaitat xamitam maya | aparādha-śataṁ xāmyam mātur asyaiva yāchane | dattam mayā yāchitaṁ cha tad vai pūrṇaṁ hi pārthivāḥ | adhunā badhayishyāmi paśyatāṁ vo mahīxitam | evam uktvā Yadu-śreshṭhaś Chedi-rājasya tat-xaṇāt | vyapāharach chhiraḥ kruddhaś chakreṇāmitra-karshaṇaḥ | sa papāta mahābāhur vajrāhata ivāchalaḥ |

"Having heard Bhīshma, the king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vāsudeva, then addressed the latter: 'I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janārdana, till I slay thee with all the Pāṇḍavas. For together with thee, Krishṇa, I must utterly destroy the Pāṇḍavas, who, passing over kings, have honoured thee who art no king. They who, through childishness, honour thee, a fool, who art a slave, and no king, and who art unworthy, as if thou wert worthy, [they, I say,] ought in my opinion to be slain.' Having so spoken, the chief of kings stood raging and impatient. Krishṇa then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pāṇḍavas, in their presence: 'This son of Sātvatī, o princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sāttvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, our sister's son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prāgjyotishas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father's sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvīras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he wickedly carried off for the Kārusha the devout and virtuous Bhadrā Vaiśālī, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father's sister (Śiśupāla's

mother), I submit to great vexation. Luckily, this occurs to-day in presence of all the princes, for ye all behold the great transgression committed against me. As for the offences which have been done out of your sight, learn them now from me. I shall not to-day be able to endure this transgression of this infatuated man, who, for his presumption, deserves to be slain in the assembly of princes. He who is doomed to die, sought to gain Rukmiṇī, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Śūdra is excluded from the veda.' Hearing these and such other words of Vāsudeva, all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedis. But the mighty Śiśupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: 'How is it that thou art not ashamed, Krishṇā, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmiṇī, who was betrothed to me?[161] For what man but thou, Madhusūdana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Krishṇa, if thou hast generosity, or refuse to forgive me. What shall happen to me from thee whether thou art well-pleased or angry?' As he thus spake, the divine Madhusūdana in his mind thought upon the discus, the humbler of the pride of the Daityas. The discus having come into his hand at that very time, the divine being, skilled in words, uttered aloud this word: 'Let the kings listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me, and it has been fulfilled, o kings. I shall now slay him, while you kings look on.' Having thus spoken, the chief of the Yadus, the vexer of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of

[161] Rukmiṇī had been betrothed to Śiśupāla, as we are told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573): *Bhīshmakaḥ Kuṇḍine rājā Vidarbha-vishaye 'bhavat | Rukmī tasyābhavat putro Rukmiṇī cha varāṅganā | Ruhmiṇīm chakame Kṛishṇaḥ sā cha tām chāru-hāsinī | na dadau yāchate chainām Rukmī dveshṇa chakriṇe | dadau cha Śiśupālāya Jarāsandha-prachoditaḥ | Bhīshmako Rukmiṇā sārddhaṁ Rukmiṇīm uru-vikramaḥ |* "Bhīshmaka was king in Kundina, in the country of the Vidarbhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukmiṇī (his daughter). Krishṇa loved Rukmiṇī, and the sweet-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discus, when he asked her; but urged by Jarāsandha, Bhīshmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to Śiśupāla." Krishṇa comes to witness the nuptials of his rival, and carries off the princess on the eve of the wedding.

the king of the Chedis with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt." [162]

Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarāshṭra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Krishṇa's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parva (vv. 2523 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Krishṇa, "who," he says, "being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven" (*pṛithivīñchāntarīxañcha dyāñchaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva visishṭātmā nayaty ātma-vaśaṁ vaśī |*) He then goes on to say:

Ekato vā jagat kṛitsnam ekato vā Janārdanaḥ | sārato jagataḥ kṛitsnād atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhasma kuryād jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ | na cha kṛitsnaṁ jagaoh chhaktam bhasmīkarttuṁ Janārdanam | yataḥ satyaṁ yato dharmo yato hrīr ārjavaṁ yataḥ | tato bhavati Govindo yataḥ Kṛishṇas tato jayaḥ | pṛithivīṁ chāntarīxañcha divañcha Purushottamaḥ | vicheshṭayati bhūtātmā krīḍanniva Janārdanaḥ | sa kṛitvā Pāṇḍavān sattraṁ lokaṁ sammohayann iva | adharma-niratān mūḍhān dagdhum ichhati te sutān | kāla-chakraṁ jagach-chakraṁ yuga-chakrañcha Keśavaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān parivarttayate 'nisam | kālasya cha hi mṛityoścha jaṅgama-sthāvarasya cha | īśate bhagavān ekaḥ satyam etad brawīmi te | īśann api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāny ārabhate karttuṁ kīnāśa iva varddhanaḥ | tena vañchayate lokān māyāyogena

[162] We are told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's translation, p. 437) that S'iśupala had been in a former birth the Daitya Hiranyakaśipu, who was killed by Vishṇu in his man-lion incarnation. He afterwards became Rāvana, who was slain by Rāma. In his character as S'iśupala he evinced a greater hatred than ever towards Vishṇu, "a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth," and was in consequence slain by him; but as his thoughts were "constantly engrossed by the supreme being," S'iśupala became united with him after death; for the lord gives "to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire," and "bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure." This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Krishṇa as an object of hatred was ever present to S'iśupala's thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was being slain by him, and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of S'iśupala's brother, king of the S'ālvas (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dvārakā, his desire to slay Krishṇa, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parva, vv. 615-890.

Keśavaḥ | ye tam eva prapadyante tena muhyanti mānavāḥ | Dhṛitarāshṭra uvācha | kathaṁ tvaṁ Mādhavaṁ vettha sarva-loka-maheśvaram | katham enaṁ na vedāhaṁ tad mamāchaxva Sañjaya | Sañjaya uvācha | śriṇu rājan na te vidyā mama vidyā na hīyate | vidyā-hīno tamo-dhvasto nābhijānāti Keśavam | vidyayā tāta jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanam | karttāram akṛitaṁ devam bhūtānām prabhavāpyayam | .... māyāṁ na seve bhaḍraṁ te na vṛithā dharmam ācharе | śuddha-bhāvaṁ gato bhaktyā śāstrād vedmi Janārdanam | Dhṛitarāshṭra uvācha | Duryodhana Hṛishīkeśam prapadyasva Janārdanam | āpto naḥ Sañjayas tāta śaraṇaṁ gachha Keśavam | Duryodhana uvācha | Bhagavān Devakī-putro lokāṁś ched nihanishyati | pravadann Arjuno sakhyaṁ nāhaṁ gachhe 'dya Keśavam |

"On the one side the whole world, on the other Janārdana,—in his essence Janārdana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore is he Govinda; since he is Krishṇa, he is therefore victory. The chief of males (or spirits), Janārdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made the Pāndavas a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy (Dhṛiturāshṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Keśava by his own abstraction (*yoga*) makes the circles of time, of the world, and of the ages (*yugas*), continually to revolve. This divine being alone is lord of time, of death, and of things moveable and immoveable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Hari, the great contemplator, though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhṛitarāshṭra said: How dost thou know Mādhava, the great lord of the whole world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya. Sanjaya answered: Hear, o king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk in darkness, does not recognize Keśava. By knowledge I recognize Madhusūdana who exists in the three ages (*yugas*), the maker, the unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their destruction." Dhṛitarāshṭra asks Sanjaya for a further explanation of his devotion to Krishṇa. Sanjaya proceeds: "I do not pursue a delusion, bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion attained to purity, I know Janārdana from the

scripture (*śāstra*). Dhṛitarāshṭra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛishīkeśa, Janārdana: Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: go to Keśava as thy refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort to-day to Keśava."

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that "when he has received his death-blow from Bhīmasena, he will remember the words of his father (*nihato Bhīmasenena smarttāsi vachanam pituḥ*)." After some further conversation, Dhṛitarāshṭra asks to be further instructed about Krishṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

Sanjaya uvācha | śrutam me Vāsudevasya nāma-nirvachanaṁ śubham | yāvat tatrābhijāne 'ham aprameyo hi Keśavaḥ | vasanāt sarva-bhūtānāṁ vasutvād deva-yonitaḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vṛihatvād Vishṇur uchyate | maunād dhyānāch cha yogāchcha viddhi Bhārata Mādhavam | sarva-tativamayatvāch cha Madhuhā Madhusūdanaḥ | kṛishir bhū-vāchakaḥ śabdo ṇaścha nirvṛiti-vāchakaḥ | Vishṇus tad-bhāva-yogāchcha Kṛishṇo bhavati Sāttvātaḥ | puṇḍarīkam paraṁ dhāma nityam axayam avyayam | tadbhāvāt Puṇḍarīkāxo dasyu-trāsāj Janārddanaḥ | yataḥ sattvād na chyavate yach cha sattvād na hīyate | sattvataḥ Sāttvatas tasmād ārshabhād Vṛishabhexaṇaḥ | na jāyate janitrā 'yam ajas tasmād anīkajit | devānāṁ sva-prakāśatvād damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ | harshāt sukhāt sukhaiśvaryyād hṛishīkeśatvam aśnute | bāhubhyām rodasī bibhrad mahābāhur iti smṛitaḥ | adho na xīyate jātu yasmāt tasmād adhoxajaḥ | narāṇām ayanāch chāpi tato Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | pūraṇāt sadanāch chāpi tato 'sau Purushottamaḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva sarvasya prabhavāpyayāt | sarvasya cha sadā jñānāt Sarvam etam prachaxate | satye pratishṭhitaḥ Krishṇaḥ satyam atra pratishṭhitam | satyāt satyañcha Govindas tasmāt Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ | Vishṇur vikramaṇād devo jayanāj Jishṇur uchyate | śāśvatatvād Anantaścha Govindo vedanād gavām | atattvaṁ kurute tattvaṁ tena mohayate prajāḥ | evaṁvidho dharma-nityo bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | āgantā hi mahābāhur ānṛiśaṁsyārtham achyutaḥ |

"Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva's names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as *Vāsudeva* from his dwelling (*vasanāt*) in all beings, from his issuing as a *Vasu* from a divine womb. From his greatness (*vṛihatvāt*) he is called Vishṇu. From his silence,

(*maunāt*) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be *Mādhava*. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is *Madhuhan*, and *Madhusūdana*. The word *kṛishi* denotes 'earth,' and *ṇa* denotes 'cessation' (?); Vishṇu, from containing the nature of these things, is *Kṛishṇa*, the Sātvata. *Puṇḍarīka* means the highest abode, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying: from his having that character he is *Puṇḍarīkāxa*. From terrifying the Dasyus he is Janārdana. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (*sattva*), therefore, from his existence, he is *Sātvata*, and from his excellence (*ārshabhat*) he is *Vrishabhexaṇa*. As he is not generated by a father, he is the unborn, the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination of the gods, and from self-restraint (*dama*), the all-pervading is *Dāmodara*. He obtains his character as *Hṛishīkeśa* from joy (*harsha*), pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two worlds with his arms, he is called Mahābāhu (*great-armed*). Since he never sinks downwards (*adho na xīyate*) he is *Adhoxaja*. From movement among men (*narāṇām*[163] *ayanat*) he is called Nārāyana. From filling (*pūraṇāt*) and from abiding (*sadanāt*) he is *Purushottama*. Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (*sarvasya*) both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they call him *Sarva*. Krishṇa is based on truth (*satye*) and truth is based on him, and from his truth Govindà is truth, therefore he is also called *Satya*. The god is called *Vishṇu* from striding (*vikramaṇāt*), *Jishṇu* from conquering (*jayanāt*), *Ananta* from his eternity, and *Govinda* from the knowledge of cattle[164] (*vedanād gavām*).

[163] Perhaps the true reading is *nārāṇām*, "waters," as in the text of Manu, cited above, p. 26.

[164] Another explanation of this name is given in the Santiparva, v. 13228 f.: *Nashṭām cha dharaṇīm pūrvam avindam vai guhāgatām | Govinda iti tenāhaṁ devair vāgbhir abhishṭutaḥ |* "And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with praises as Govinda." And in the following verse, occurring in the description of the ocean, in the Ādi-parva, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: *Gāṁ vindatā bhagavatā Govindenāmitaujasā | varāha-rūpiṇā chāntar vixobhita-jalāvilam |* "[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by the divine *Govinda* of illimitable power, who in the form of a boar *found the earth* [beneath its surface]." I notice in the same passage another verse (1215) which seems to shew that, at the period when it was written, the Hindūs were acquainted with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the ocean: *Chandra-vṛiddhi-xaya-vaśād udvṛittormi-samākulam |* "The ocean] tossed with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon."

He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdana. For the great-armed Achyuta (or unfalling deity) will come for the abolition of cruelty."

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana's enmity to Krishṇā, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shews the writer's faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parva that Krishṇa went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pandus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4368), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Krishṇa. On the conclusion of Vidura's speech, Krishṇa addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

Vidureṇaivam uktas tu Keśavaḥ śatru-pūga-hā | Duryodhanaṁ Dhārtarāshṭram abhyabhāshata vīryyavān | eko 'ham iti yad mohād manyase māṁ Suyodhana | paribhūya sudurbuddhe grahītum māṁ chikīrshasi | ihaiva Pāṇḍavāḥ sarve tathaivāndhaka-vṛishṇayaḥ | ihādityāścha Rudrāś cha Vasavaś cha saharshibhiḥ | evaṁ uktvā jahāsochchaiḥ Keśavaḥ para-vīra-hā | tasya saṁsmayataḥ Saurer vidyud-rūpā mahātmanaḥ | aṅgushṭha-mātrās tridaśā mumuchuḥ pāvakārchishaḥ | asya Brahmā lalāṭa-stho Rudro vaxasi chābhavat | loka-pālā bhujeshv āsann Agnir āsyād ajāyata | Ādityāś chaiva Sādhyāś cha Vasavo 'thāśvināv api | Marutaś cha sahendreṇa Viśve devāś tathaiva cha | babhūvus chaika-rūpāṇi Yaxa-Gandharva-Raxasām | prādurāstaṁ tathā dorbhyāṁ Saṅkarshaṇa-Dhanañjayau | daxiṇe 'thārjjuno dhanvī halī Rāmaś cha savyataḥ | Bhīmo Yudhisthiraś chaiva Mādrī-putrau cha pṛishṭhataḥ | Andhakā Vṛishṇayaś chaiva Pradyumna-pramukhās tataḥ | agre babhūvuḥ Kṛishṇasya samudyata-mahāyudhāḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-śakti-śārṅga-lāṅgala-nandakāḥ | adriśyantodyatāny eva sarva-praharaṇāni cha | nānā-bāhushu Kṛishṇasya dīpyamānāni sarvaśaḥ | ityādi

"Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitarāshṭra: 'Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, o fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāṇḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vrishnis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.' Having thus spoken,

Keśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty descendant of Sūra [Krishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, too, and the Sādhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yaxas, Gandharvas, and Rāxasas. Sankarshana and Dhanañjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma with a plough from his left, Yudishthira and Bhīma, the sons of Mādrī, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vrishnis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishṇa."

In the next passage, taken from the Karṇa-parva, also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Krishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Karṇa promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Karṇa says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Krishṇa); (v. 1302: *Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādṛiṅ na vidyate*); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Krishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (*Kṛishṇaś cha srashṭā jagato ratham tam abhiraxati*[165]), if, in like manner, Śalya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Śauri (Krishṇa) and is well skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Karṇa thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: *Ayaṁ tu sadṛiśaḥ Śaureḥ Śalyaḥ samiti-śobhanaḥ | sārathyaṁ yadi me kuryād dhruvas te vijayo bhavet* | . . . . 1311: *Evam abhyadhikaḥ Pārthāt bhavishyami guṇair aham | Śalyo 'py abhyadhikaḥ Kṛishṇād Arjunād api chāpy aham | yathā 'śva-hṛidayaṁ veda Dāśārhaḥ para-vīra-hā | tathā Śalyo 'pi jānīte*

[165] If the words *srashṭā jagataḥ*, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karṇa could have regarded Krishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling Śalya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.

haya-jñānaṁ mahārathaḥ |) Duryodhana then goes to Śalya and asks him to act as charioteer to Karṇa, saying that he (Śalya) was equal to Krishṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karṇa but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: *Sārathyaṁ rathināṁ śreshṭha praṇayāt karttum arhasi* | *tvayī yantari Rādheyo vidvisho me vijeshyate* | *abhīshūṇāṁ hi Karṇasya grahītā 'nyo na vidyate* | *ṛite hi tvām mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samaṁ yudhi* | *sa pāhi sarvathā Karṇaṁ yathā Brahmā Maheśvaram* |). Śalya, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karṇa, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: *Paśya pīnau mama bhujau vajra-saṁhananopamau* | . . . . 1363: *Dārayeyam mahīṁ kṛitsnāṁ vikireyaṁ cha parvatān* | *Soshayeyaṁ samudrāṁś cha tejasā svena pārthiva* |). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior[166] (v. 1365: *Kasmād yunaxi sārathye nīchasyādhirathe rane* | *na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktuṁ tvam ihārhasi* | *na hi pāpīyasaḥ śreyān bhūtvā preshyatvam utsahe* |). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karṇa as superior to him (v. 1379: *Na Karṇo 'bhyadhikas tvattaḥ*), but considered Karṇa to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Śalya) as superior to Krishṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: *Manye chābhyadhikaṁ Śalya guṇaiḥ Karṇaṁ Dhanañjayāt* | *bhavantaṁ Vāsudevāch cha loko 'yam iti manyate* | *Karṇo hy abhyadhikaḥ Pārthād astrair eva nararshabha* | *bhavān abhyadhikaḥ Kṛishṇād aśva-jñāne bale tathā* | *yathā 'śvahṛidayaṁ veda Vāsudevo mahāmanāḥ* | *dviguṇaṁ tvaṁ tathā vetsi Madrarājeśvarātmaja* |). Śalya is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Krishṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karṇa, vv. 1387 ff.: *Yad mām bravīshi Gāndhāre madhye sainyasya Kaurava* | *viśishṭaṁ Devakīputrāt prītimāṇ asmy ahaṁ tvayi* | *esha sārathyam ātishṭhe Rādheyasya*

[166] He regarded Karṇa as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (v. 1374).

yaśasvinaḥ | yudhyataḥ Pāṇḍavāgryeṇa yathā tvaṁ vīra manyase | samaṁyaś cha hi me vīra kaśchid Vaikarttanam prati | utsṛijeyaṁ yathā-śraddham ahaṁ vācho 'sya sannidhau | Saṁjaya uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te saha Karṇena Bhārata | abravīd Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama |

"I am pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa when he fights with the chief of the Pandus, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I have entered into a certain agreement with Karṇa, let me candidly excuse to him the words I have used. Sanjaya proceeded: "Thy son (*i.e.* Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Karṇa the resolution of the king of the Madras (Śalya)."

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Śalya to act as charioteer to Karṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as proceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd–35th, vv. 1391 ff., (which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably interpolated,) to repeat to Śalya an ancient legend, telling how Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka thereupon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become indestructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute (1399). They then asked that they should occupy three cities, and from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand years these three cities should become united, and that they themselves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to overthrow the cities with a single arrow, (1402 ff.: *Vayam purāṇi trīṇy eva samāsthāya mahīm imām | vicharishyāmo loke 'smin . . . . tato varsha-sahasre tu sameshyāmaḥ parasparam | ekībhāvaṁ gamishyanti purāṇy etāni chānagha | samāgatāni chaitāni yo hanyād bhagavaṁs tadā | ekeshuṇā deva-varaḥ sa no mṛityur bhavishyati |*). Brahmā granted this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three cities, one of gold, in heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on earth[167] (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above-named severally

[167] See above, p. 168.

occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415): and Hari, the son of Tārakāxa, obtained as a boon from Brahmā that there should be a pond in their city, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the cities of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmā about the means of overthrowing the demons (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the cities could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austerities, knows the *yoga* and the *sānkhya* of himself, (or of spirit;) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.: *Tapo-niyamam āsthāya gṛiṇanto brahma śāśvatam* | . . . . *tushṭuvur vāgbhir ugrābhir bhayeshv abhaya-dāṁ nṛipa* | *sarvātmānam mahātmānāṁ yenāptaṁ sarvam ātmanā* | *tapo-viśeshair vividhair yogaṁ yo veda chātmanaḥ* | *yaḥ sāṇkhyam ātmano vetti yasya chātmā vaśe sadā* |). They beheld Mahādeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as "the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world" (1442: *sarva-bhūtamayaṁ dṛishṭvā tam ajaṁ jagataḥ patim* |). Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpati, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva answers (1459) that he could not destroy them himself, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not contain half of his strength (*vibharttuṁ tava tejo*

'rddhaṁ na śaxyāmaḥ), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or "the great god," (*arddham ādāya sarveshāṁ tejasā 'bhyadhiko 'bhavat | sa tu devo balenāśīt sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādeva iti khyātas tataḥ prabhṛiti Śaṅkaraḥ |*). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469: *mūrttīḥ sarvāḥ samādhāya trailokyasya tatas tataḥ | rathaṁ te kalpayishyāmaḥ |*). The composition of the car, formed by Visvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471–1492). Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni became different parts of Mahādeva's bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Kṛita age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vashaṭkāra, the gāyatrī, etc, formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva's weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that "Vishṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow, for all the world," it is added, "is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power.[188] Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope's skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce intolerable fury, and sprung from the rage of Bhṛigu and Angiras. . . . . He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthāṇu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, moveable and immoveable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold." (*Ishuś chāpy abhavad Vishṇur Jvalanaḥ Soma eva cha | Agnī-Somaṁ jagat kṛitsnaṁ Vaishṇavaṁ chochyate jagat | Vishṇuś chātmā bhagavato Bhavasyāmita-tejasaḥ | tasmād dhanur jyā-saṁsparśaṁ na vishehur Harasya te | tasmin śare tigma-manyum mumochāsahyam Īśvaraḥ | Bhṛigv-Aṅgiro-manyu-bhavaṁ krodhāgnim ati-dussaham | sa nīla-lohito*

[188] Can these words be a Vaishnava addition to the passage?

dhūmraḥ kṛittivāsā bhayaṅkaraḥ | . . . . 1507: *Nityaṁ trātā cha hantā cha dharmādharmāśritān narān | pramāthibhir bhīma-balair bhīma-rūpair manojavaiḥ | vibhāti bhagavān Sthāṇus tair evātma-guṇair vṛitaḥ | tasyāṅgāni samāśṛitya sthitaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagat | jaṅgamājaṅgamaṁ rājan śuśubhe 'dhuta-darśanam |*)

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Vishṇu, and Agni, Mahādeva mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that office. He then said that the god who was greater than he should be made his charioteer. The gods next went to Brahmā and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahādeva is again represented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out,[169] and arrives at the triple city of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to battle. Mahādeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma, Agni, and Vishṇu in the arrow, and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Vishṇu then issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull, and raises up the chariot. Mahādeva fits his arrow on the string (1562), and discharges it against the triple city (1567), which falls to the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahādeva into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahādeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by exhorting Śalya to follow Brahmā's example, and act as charioteer to Karṇa. Śalya, he adds, is superior to Krishṇa, Karṇa, and Arjuna, and as Karṇa resembled Mahādeva in fighting, so Śalya resembled Brahmā in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Śalya another story about Paraśurāma performing austerity to propitiate Mahādeva and obtain

[169] In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and *increased his strength (ṛishayas tatra deveśaṁ stuvanto bahubhiḥ stavaiḥ | tejaś chāsmai vardhayanto rājann āsan punaḥ punaḥ |)*. The same power of imparting strength to the gods by their praises is frequently asserted of the bards in the Rig-veda.

celestial arms. Mahādeva appears to him and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to obtain them. Paraśurāma renews his penances and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahādeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806) and receives celestial arms from Mahādeva. Paraśurāma had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Karṇa (1613), which proves that Karṇa is free from sin; and Karṇa is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Sūta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Xatriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger (1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahmā becoming Mahādeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Śalya to perform the same office to Karṇa. Śalya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana's request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Krishṇa also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, Śalya adds, if Karṇa should slay Arjuna, Krishṇa would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana's army, and no one would be able to stand before him when he was incensed, (*Yadi hanyāch cha Kaunteyaṁ Sūta-putraḥ kathañchana | dṛishṭvā Pārthaṁ hi nihataṁ svayaṁ yotsyati Keśavaḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-pāṇir dhaxyate tava vāhinīm | na chāpi tasya kruddhasya Vārshṇeyasya mahātmanaḥ | sthāsyate pratyanīkeshu kaśchid atra nṛipas tava*). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karṇa, and of Śalya himself: (1643) *Tvam śalya-bhūtaḥ śatrūṇām avishahyaḥ parākrame | tatas tvam uchyase rājan Śalya ity ari-sūdana | tava bāhu-balam prāpya na śekuḥ sarva-Sāttvatāḥ | tava bāhu-balād rājan kintu Kṛishṇo balādhikaḥ | yathā hi Kṛishṇena balaṁ dhāryaṁ vai Phālgune hate | tathā Karṇātyayībhāve tvayā dhāryam mahad balam | kimarthaṁ samare sainyaṁ Vāsudevo nyavārayet* (sic) | *kimarthaṁ cha bhavān sainyaṁ na hanishyati Māriśa* | "Thou art a spear (*śalya*) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, o king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Śalya.[170] Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sāttvatas could

[170] In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words; *Śalya-bhūtas tu śatrūṇāṁ yasmāt tvam yudhi mānada | tasmāt Śalyo hi te nāma kathyate*

not [resist]. But [it is said that?] Krishṇa is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Krishṇa, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Karna were slain. Why should Krishṇa withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy's] host?" Śalya then answers (1648 ff.) in the same words[171] which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387–9: "I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa," etc. This repetition of the same speech of Śalya at the close of the episode regarding Mahādeva's conquest of the Asuras with Brahmā for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma's acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As Śalya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karṇa's charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmā and Mahādeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of Śalya's willingness to comply with the request of Karṇa and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Krishṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishis, Nārāyana and Nara, who always lived and acted together. A similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connection will appear from the following passages,[172] in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

It is related in the Vana-parva (vv. 461 ff.) that Krishṇa, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pāṇḍus), with the view of soothing Krishṇa, recounts (vv. 471 ff.)

pṛithivī-tale | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

[171] The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line of the later passage the words *agre sainyasya mānada*, "before the army, conferrer of honour," are substituted for *madhye sainyasya Kaurava*, "in the midst of the army, o Kaurava."

[172] See also the extract from the Droṇa-parva, translated above, p. 155.

his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484),[173] and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.):

Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni saṃxipya Madhusūdana | ātmanaivātmasāt kṛitvā jagad āsīḥ parantapa | yugādau tava Vārshṇeya nābhi-padmād ajāyata | Brahmā charāchara-gurur yasyedaṁ sakalaṁ jagat | taṁ hantum udyatau ghorau Dānavau Madhu-kaiṭabhau | tayor vyatikramaṁ dṛishṭvā kruddhasya bhavato Hareḥ | lalāṭāj jātavān Sambhuḥ śūla-pāṇis trilochanaḥ | itthaṁ tāv api deveśau tach-chharīra-samudbhavau | tan-niyoga-karāv etāv iti me Nārado 'bravīt | tathā Nārāyaṇa purā kratubhir bhūri-dakṣiṇaiḥ | ishṭavāṁs tvam mahāsatraṁ Kṛishṇa Chaitrarathe vane | naivam pūrve nāpare vā karishyanti kṛitāni vā | yāni karmāṇi deva tvam bāla eva mahābalaḥ | kṛitavāṁ Puṇḍarīkāxa Baladeva-sahāyavān | Kailāsa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasaḥ saha | Vaiśampāyana uvācha | evam uktvā mahātmānam ātmā Kṛishṇasya Pāṇḍavaḥ | tūshṇīm āsīt tataḥ Pārtham ity uvācha Janārddanaḥ | mamaiva tvaṁ tavaivāhaṁ ye madīyās tavaiva te | yas tvāṁ dveshṭi sa māṁ dveshṭi yas tvām anu sa mām anu | Naras tvam asi durdharsha Harir Nārāyaṇo hy aham | kāle lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī | ananyaḥ Pārtha mattas tvaṁ tvattaś chāhaṁ tathaiva cha | nāvayor antaram sakyaṁ veditum Bharatarshabha |

"'At the end of the mundane period (*yuga*), thou, o Madhusūdana, vexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the yuga, o Vārshṇeya (Krishṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things moveable and immoveable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gods (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from his (Krishṇa's) body, and they execute his commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, o Krishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to

[173] See above, p. 115 ff.

come do, the deeds which thou didst, Puṇḍarīkāxa, even when a child, mighty in power, accompanied by Baladeva. And thou didst dwell with the Brāhmans in the abode of Kailāsa.' Having thus addressed that great being, the Pāṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Krishna, became silent. Then Janārdana (Krishna) thus addressed the son of Pṛithā: 'Thou art mine, and I am thine;[174] those who are mine are thine also. He who hates thee hates me; he who loves (*lit.* follows) thee loves me. Thou, invincible hero, art Nara, and I am Hari Nārāyana: in due time we came into this world, the rishis Nara and Nārāyana. Thou, son of Pṛithā, art not different from me, nor, in like manner, I from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us.'"

Again, it is related in the Vana-parva that, with the view of obtaining celestial weapons, Arjuna, at the suggestion of Indra (vv. 1513 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himālaya, to see Mahādeva (vv. 1526 ff.) Arrived there, he performs austerity. The rishis, not knowing his object, are alarmed, and go to tell Mahādeva (vv. 1543 ff.), who assures them that there is no cause for apprehension, as Arjuna cherishes no ambitious designs. Mahādeva then takes his bow and arrows, and assuming the form of a Kirāta (barbarous mountaineer), approaches Arjuna (vv. 1551 ff.). At that moment a Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kirāta desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim; but Arjuna will not consent; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kirāta, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (*na hy esha mṛigayā-dharmo yas tvayā 'dya kṛito mayi*), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kirāta, and Arjuna then fight together (vv. 1582 ff.) with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and falls exhausted (v. 1613). He, however, revives, and worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Mahādeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's

[174] The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyana, or Arjuna and Krishna, may therefore be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are already proverbial in the western world, viz., those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias.

prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.): *Tato devam Mahādevaṁ Girisaṁ śūlapāṇinam | dadarśa Phālgunas tatra saha devyā mahādyutim | sa jānubhyām mahīṁ gatvā śirasā praṇipatya cha | prasādayāmāsa Haram Pārthaḥ para-puraṁjayaḥ | Arjuna uvācha | "Kapardin sarvadeveśa Bhaga-netra-nipātana | deva-deva Mahādeva nīla-grīva jaṭā-dhara | kāraṇānāṁcha paramaṁ jāne tvāṁ Tryambakaṁ vibhum | devānāṁcha gatiṁ deva tvat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | ajeyas tvam tribhir lokaiḥ sa-devāsura-mānushaiḥ | Śivāya Vishṇu-rūpāya Vishṇave Śiva-rūpiṇe | Daxa-yajña-vināśāya Hari-Rudrāya vai namaḥ | lalāṭāxāya Sarvāya mīḍhushe śūla-pāṇaye | pināka-goptre sūryāya mārjālīyāya vedhase | prasādaye tvām bhagavān sarva-bhūta-maheśvara | gaṇeśaṁ jagataḥ śambhuṁ loka-kāraṇa-kāraṇam | pradhāna-purushātītam paraṁ sūxmataram Haram |*

"Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Giriśa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Pṛithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words: 'God with the braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga's eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the pervading, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras and men. Adoration be to Śiva in the form of Vishṇu, to Vishṇu in the form of Śiva, to the destroyer of Daxa's sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Sarva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the cat, the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (*i.e.*, ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradhāna and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtile, Hara."

Mahādeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him:

1637 ff.—*Devadeva uvācha | Naras tvam pūrva-dehe vai Nārāyaṇa-sahāyavān | Badaryāṁ taptavān ugraṁ tapo varshāyutān bahūn | tvayi vā pāramaṁ tejo Vishṇau vā purushottame | yuvābhyām purushāgryābhyāṁ tejasā dhāryyate jagat | Śakrābhishoke sumahad dhanur jalada-niḥsvanam | pragṛihya dānavāḥ śāstās tvayā Kṛishṇena cha prabho*

ityādi | "Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyana for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishṇu the supreme Purusha. By you twain, the chief of men (or Purushas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of Sakra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastised by thee and Krishṇa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds."

Mahādeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāśupata weapon (v. 1643) which Mahādeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parva (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīshma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

Namaskṛityopajagmus te loka-vṛiddham Pitāmaham | *parivāryya cha viśveśam paryāsata divaukasaḥ* | *teshām manaś cha tejaśchāpy ādadānāv ivaujasā* | *pūrva-devau vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī* | *Vṛihaspatis tu paprachha Brahmāṇaṁ kāv imāv iti* | *bhavantaṁ nopatishṭhete tau naḥ śaṁsa Pitāmaha* | *Brahmā uvācha* | *yāv etau pṛithivīṁ dyāṁcha bhāsayantau tapasvinau* | *jvalantau rochamanau cha vyāpyāsītau (nau ?) mahābalau* | *Nara-Nārāyaṇāv etau lokāl lokaṁ samāsthitau* | *ūrjitau svena tapasā mahāsattva-parākramau* | *etau hi karmaṇā lokaṁ nandayāmāsatur dhruvam* | *dvidhā-bhūtau mahā-prajñau viddhi brahman parantapau* | *asurāṇāṁ vināśāya deva-gandharva-pūjitau* | *Vaiśampāyana uvācha* | *jagāma Śakras taoh chhrutvā yatra tau tapatas tapaḥ* | *sārddhaṁ devagaṇaiḥ sarvair Vṛihaspati-purogamaiḥ* | *tadā devāsure yuddhe bhaye jāte divaukasām* | *ayāchata mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇau varam* | *tāv abrūtāṁ vṛiṇīshveti tadā Bharata-sattama* | *athaitāv 'abravīch chhakraḥ sahyaṁ naḥ kriyatām iti* | *tatas tau Śakram abrūtāṁ karishyāvo yad ichhasi* | *tābhyāṁcha sahitaḥ Śakro vijigye daitya-dānavān* | *Nara Indrasya saṅgrāme hatvā śatrūn parantapaḥ* | *Paulomān Kālakañjāṁścha sahasrāṇi śatāni cha* | *esha bhrānte rathe tishṭhan bhallenāpāharach chhiraḥ* | *Jambhasya grasamānasya tadā hy Arjunam āhave* | *esha pāre samudrasya Hiraṇyapuram ārujat* | *jitvā shashṭiṁ sahasrāṇi Nivātakavachān raṇe* | *esha devān sahendreṇa jitvā para-purañjayaḥ* | *atarpayad mahābāhur Arjuno Jātavedasam* | *Nārāyaṇas tathaivātra bhūyaśo 'nyān jaghāna ha* |

evam etau mahā-vīryyau tau paśyata samāgatau | Vāsudevārjunau vīrau samavetau mahārathau | Nara-Nārāyaṇau devau pūrva-devāv iti śrutiḥ | ajeyau mānushe loke sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | esha Nārāyaṇaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ Phālguṇaś cha Naraḥ smṛitaḥ | Nārāyaṇo Naraś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvidhā-kṛitam | etau hi karmaṇā lokān aśnuvāte 'xayān dhruvān | tatra tatraiva jāyete yuddha-kāle punaḥ punaḥ | tasmāt karmaiva karttavyam iti hovācha Nāradaḥ | etad hi sarvam āohashṭa Vṛishṇi-chakrasya veda-vit | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-hastam yadā draxyasi Keśavam | paryādadānaṁ chāstrāṇi bhīmā-dhanvānam Arjunam | sanātanau mahātmānau kṛishṇāv eka-ratho sthitau | Duryodhana tadā tāta smarttāsi vachanam mama |

"Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and powerful gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyana, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vrihaspati enquired of Brahmā, 'Tell us, Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.' Brahmā said: 'These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyana, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, o Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras.' Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vrihaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyana a boon. They replied, 'Choose.' Then Indra said, 'Let us be assisted.' They answered Indra, 'We will do what thou desirest.' And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha,[175] who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiraṇyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty

[175] The name of a demon. It will occur again below.

thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyana slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyana, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyana is Krishna, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyana and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two with their operation pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born in different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada) who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vṛishṇis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Krishṇa) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then, dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words." (Compare the same warning given in p. 182.)

It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parva (vv. 3459-3488) that, in order to persuade the Kurus to adopt moderate counsels by shewing the great power of Arjuna and Krishṇa, Paraśurama told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhodbhava, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmans that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz., Nara and Nārāyana, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamādana, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambhodbhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodbhava's host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noses of the assailants, Dambhodbhava was soon forced to fall at Nara's feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Droṇa-parva, vv. 419 ff.:

Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā Kṛishṇo 'py ātmā Kirīṭinaḥ | Arjune vijayo nityaṁ Kṛishṇe kīrttiśoha śāśvatī | sarveshv api cha lokeshu Bībhatsur aparājitaḥ | prādhānyenaiva bhūyishṭham ameyāḥ Keśave guṇāḥ | mohād Duryodhano Kṛishṇaṁ yo na vettīha Keśavam | mohito daiva-yogena mṛityu-pāśa-puraskṛitaḥ | na veda Kṛishṇaṁ Dāśārham Arjunaṁ chaiva Pāṇḍavam | pūrva-devau mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | ekātmānau dvidhā-bhūtau dṛiśyete mānushair bhuvi | manasā 'pi hi durdharshau senām etāṁ yaśasvinau | nāśayetām ichchhantau mānushatvāch cha nechchhataḥ |

"Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Krishṇa), and Krishṇa too is the soul of Kirīṭin (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Krishṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Krishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Krishṇa the Dāśārha, and Arjuna the Pāndava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyana, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious [beings], who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it."

Again, in the Bhīshma-parva, vv. 2932 ff., Bhīshma exhorts Duryodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas who, he says, are invincible in consequence of Krishṇa's protection. To illustrate Krishṇa's divine greatness Bhīshma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the support of the world (2964 f.). Vishṇu assents to Brahmā's request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978 ff.):

Yat tat param bhavishyañcha bhavitā yachcha yat param | bhūtātmā yaḥ prabhuś chaiva Brahma yach cha param padam | tenāsmi kṛita-saṁvādaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāya yāchito me jagat-patiḥ | "mānushaṁ lokam ātishṭha Vāsudeva iti śrutaḥ | asurāṇām

badhārthāya sambhavasva mahītale | saṇgrāmo nihatā ye te daitya-dānava-rākasāḥ | te ime nrishu sambhūtā ghora-rūpā mahābalāḥ | teshām badhārtham bhagavān Nareṇa sahito balī | mānushīm yonim āsthāya charishyasi mahī-tale" | Nara-Nārāyaṇau tau tu purāṇāv ṛishi-sattamau | ajeyau hi raṇe yau tau sametair amarair api | sahitau mānushe loke sambhūtāv amita-dyutī | mūḍhās te tau na jānanti Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī | yasyāham ātmajo Brahmā sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo 'nuneyo vaḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | tathā manushyo 'yam iti kadāchit sura-sattamāḥ | nāvajñeyo mahāvīryyaḥ śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | etat paramakaṁ guhyam etat paramakam padam | etat paramakam Brahma etāt paramakaṁ yaśaḥ | etad axaram avyaktam etach chhāśvatam eva cha | etat Purusha-saṁjño vai gīyate jñāyate na cha | etat paramakaṁ teja etat paramakaṁ sukham | etat paramakaṁ satyaṁ kīrttitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇā | tasmāt surāsuraiḥ sarvaiḥ sendraiś chāmita-vikramaḥ | nāvajñeyo Vāsudevo mānusho 'yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānusha-mātro 'yam iti brūyāt sa manda-dhīḥ | Hṛishīkeśam avajñānāt tam āhuḥ purushādhamam | taṁ yoginam mahātmānam pravishṭam mānushīṁ tanum | yo 'vamanyed Vāsudevaṁ tam āhus tāmasaṁ janāḥ | devaṁ charācharātmānaṁ śrīvatsāṅkaṁ suvarchasam | padma-nābhaṁ na jānāti tam āhus tāmasaṁ janāḥ | kirīṭa-kaustubha-dharam mitrāṇām abhayaṅkaram | avajānan mahātmānaṁ ghore tamasi majjati | . . . 3002: Vārito 'si purā tāta munibhir bhāvitātmabhiḥ | mā gachha saṁyugaṁ tena Vāsudevena dhanvinā | Pāṇḍavaiḥ sārdhaṁ iti yat tat tvam mohād na budhyase | manye tvāṁ Rākasaṁ krūraṁ tathā chāsi tamo-vṛitaḥ | tasmād dvishasi Govindam Pāṇḍavāṁścha Dhanañjayam | Nara-Nārāyaṇau devau ko 'nyo dvishyād hi mānavaḥ |

"That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall be, and who [is] supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, o eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to shew favour to the world: 'Do thou who art known as Vāsudeva appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākasas who have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou, the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a human womb, wilt act upon earth.' Those ancient and most excellent

of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He of whom I, Brahmā, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be reverenced by you. Never, o most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest sphere, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension: from his contempt of Hṛishīkeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (*kaustubha*), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness."[176]

Bhīshma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3002): "Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said]: 'Engage not in battle with that archer Vāsudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.' Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rākasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hatest Govinda (Krishna) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?"

The next passage is from the Śāntiparva, where Krishṇa, after describing many of his other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.):

Purā 'ham ātmajaḥ Pārtha prathitaḥ kāraṇāntare | Dharmasya Kuruśārdūla tato 'haṁ Dharmajaḥ smṛitaḥ | Nara-Nārāyaṇau pūrvaṁ tapas

[176] This passage seems to have a polemical object, and to be aimed at some contemporaries of the author, who did not assign so high a dignity to Krishna.

tepatur avyayam | dharma-yānaṁ samārūḍhau parvate Gandhamādane | tat-kāla-samaye chaiva Daxa-yajño babhūva ha | na chaivākalpayad bhāgaṁ Daxo Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhīchi-vachanād Ḍaxa-yajñam apāharat | sasarjja śūlaṁ kopena prajvalantam muhur muhuḥ | tach chhūlam bhasmasāt kṛitvā Daxa-yajñaṁ sa-vistaram | āvayoḥ sahasā "gachhad Vadary-āśramam antikāt | vegena mahatā Pārtha patad Nārāyaṇorasi | tatas tat-tejasā "vishṭāḥ keśā Nārāyaṇasya ha | babhūvur muñja-varṇās tu tato 'ham muñja-keśavān | tachcha śūlaṁ vinirdāhūtaṁ hu ṁ kāreṇa mahātmanā | jagāma Saṅkara-karaṁ Nārāyaṇa-samāhatam | atha Rudra upādhāvat tāv ṛishī tapasā 'nvitau | tata onaṁ samudbhūtaṁ kaṇṭhe jagrāha pāṇinā | Nārāyaṇaḥ sa viśvātmā tenāsya śiti-kaṇṭhatā | atha Rudra-vighātārtham ishīkāṁ Nara uddharat | mantraiś cha saṁyuyojāśu so 'bhavat paraśur mahān | xiptaś cha sahasā tena khaṇḍanam prāptavāṁs tadā | tato 'haṁ ['yaṁ ?] Khaṇḍaparaśuḥ smṛitaḥ paraśu-khaṇḍanāt | . . . . tayoḥ saṁlagnayor yuddhe Rudra-Nārāyaṇātmanoḥ | udvignāḥ sahasā kṛitsnāḥ sarva-lokās tadā 'bhavan | nāgṛihṇāt Pāvakaḥ śubhram makheshu suhutaṁ haviḥ | vedā na pratibhānti smv ṛishīṇām bhāvitātmanām | devān rajas tamaś chaiva samāviśitus tadā | vasudhā sañchakampe cha nabhaś cha vipaphāla ha | nishprabhāṇi cha tejāṁsi Brahmā chaivāsana-chyutaḥ | agāch chhoshaṁ samudraś cha Himavāṁś cha vyaśīryyata | tasminn eva samutpanne nimitte Pāṇḍu-nandana | Brahmā vṛito deva-gaṇair ṛishibhiś cha mahātmabhiḥ | ājagāmāśubhaṁ deśaṁ yatra yuddham avarttata | so 'ñjali-pragraho bhūtvā chatur-vaktro nirukta-gaḥ | uvācha vachanaṁ Rudraṁ "lokānām astu vai śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśveśa jagato hita-kāmyayā | yad axaram athāvyaktam īśaṁ lokasya bhāvanam | kūṭasthaṁ karttṛi-nirdvandvam akarttṛi cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhāva-gatasyāsya ekā mūrttir iyaṁ śubhā | Naro Nārāyaṇaś chaiva jātau Dharma-kulodvahau | tapasā mahatā yuktau deva-śreshṭhau mahā-vratau | aham prasāda-jas tasya kutaśchit kāraṇāntare | tvaṁ chaiva krodha-jas tāta pūrva-sarge sanātanaḥ | mayā cha sārddhaṁ varadaṁ vibudhaiś cha maharshibhiḥ | prasādayāśu lokānāṁ śāntir bhavatu mā chiram" | Brahmaṇā tv evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodhāgnim utsṛijan | prasādayāmāsa tato devaṁ Nārāyaṇam prabhum | śaraṇyaṁ cha jagāmādyaṁ vareṇyaṁ varadam prabhum | tato 'tha varado devo jita-krodho jitendriyaḥ | prītimān abhavat tatra Rudreṇa saha saṅgataḥ | ṛishibhir Brahmaṇā chaiva vibudhaiś cha supūjitaḥ | uvācha devam Īśānam īśaḥ sa jagato Hariḥ | "yas tvāṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yas

tvām anu sa mām anu | nāvayor antaraṁ kiñchid mā te bhūd buddhir anyathā | adya-prabhṛiti śrīvatsaḥ śūlāṅko me bhavaiv ayam | mama pāṇy-aṅkitāś chāpi śrīkaṇṭhas tvam bhavishyasi" | evaṁ laxaṇam utpādya paraspara-kṛitaṁ tadā | sakhyaṁ chaivātulaṁ kṛitvā Rudreṇa sahitāv ṛishī | tapas tepatur avyagrau viṣṛijya tridivaukasaḥ | esha te kathitaḥ Pārtha Nārāyaṇa-jayo mṛidhe | nāmāni chaiva guhyāni niruktāni cha Bhārata | ṛishibhiḥ kathitānīha yāni saṅkīrttitāni te | evam bahu-vidhaiḥ rūpaiś charāmīha vasundharām | Brahma-lokañcha Kaunteya golokañcha sanātanam | mayā tvaṁ raxito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān jayam | yas tu te so 'grato yāti yuddhe sampraty upasthite | taṁ viddhi Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-devam kapardinam | kālaḥ sa eva kathitaḥ krodhajeti mayā tava | nihatās tena vai pūrvaṁ hatavān asi yān ripūn | aprameya-prabhāvaṁ taṁ deva-devam Umā-patim | namasva devam prayato viśveśaṁ Haram axayam | ityādi |

"Formerly, son of Pṛithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyana, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that conjuncture of time, the sacrifice of Daxa took place. Daxa did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhīchi, swept away the sacrifice of Daxa, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Daxa with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Nārāyana. The hair of Nārāyana penetrated by its power, became of the colour of grass (*muñja*): from which I am called Muñjakeśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with an imprecation went back into the hand of Śankara, when struck by Nārāyana. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyana, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Siva's) name of Sitikantha. Nara next drew out a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (*paraśu*) became shattered into fragments (*khaṇḍana*), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṇḍaparaśu." Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict; when Krishṇa proceeds: "When Rudra and

Nārāyana had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahma fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries (?), with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, the indivisible, and not the doer,—[this I say is one form of him, viz.], Nara and Nārāyana, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger,[177] an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.' Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyana, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Īśāna (Mahādeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (*lit.* follows) thee loves me.[178] There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrīkaṇṭha marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Pṛthā, which I

[177] See verses 13140 and 13145 of the Śantiparva, quoted below.

[178] The same expression has already occurred above, p. 194.

have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyana in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kunti, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra the god of gods, with braided hair. He, Time, has been declared by me to thee to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all."

Again, in the Śāntiparva, Vaiśampayana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from Śveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Nara and Nārāyaṇa (v. 13337):

Nipapāta cha khāt tūrṇaṁ viśālāṁ Vadarīm anu | tataḥ sa dadṛiśe devau purāṇāv ṛishi-sattamau | tapaś charantau sumahad ātma-nishṭhau mahā-vratau | tejasā 'bhyadhikau sūryāt sarva-loka-virochanāt | śrīvatsa-lakṣaṇau pūjyau jaṭā-maṇḍala-dhāriṇau | jāla-pāda-bhujau tau tu pādayos chakra-lakṣaṇau | vyūḍhoraskau dīrgha-bhujau tathā mushka-chatushkinau | shaṣṭi-dantāv ashṭa-daṁshṭrau meghaugha-sadriśa-svanau | svāsyau pṛithu-lalāṭau cha subhrū su-hanu-nāsikau | ātapatreṇa sadṛiśe śirasī devayos tayoḥ | evaṁ-lakṣaṇa-sampannau mahā-purusha-sañjñitau | tau dṛishṭvā Nārado hṛishṭas tābhyaṁ cha pratipūjitaḥ | svāgatenābhibhāshyātha pṛishṭaś chānāmayaṁ tathā | babhūvāntar-gata-matir nirīxya purushottamau |

"He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārada rejoicing, and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became

absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollected to have previously seen them in the Śveta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Śveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (*āvayoḥ prakṛitiḥ parā*). He replies that he had; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: *Adyāpi chainam paśyāmi yuvām paśyan sanātanau | yair lakṣaṇair upetaḥ sa Harir avyakta-rūpa-dhṛik | tair lakṣaṇair upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvām | dṛishṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya pārśvataḥ |*) Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nârada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyana.

V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his Indian Antiquities, i. 621 f., and note, p. 622[179]) Krishṇa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To shew how little prospect the Kurus had of vanquishing the Pandus, aided as the latter were by Krishṇa, Dhṛitarashtra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief:

[179] His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Krishṇa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text), he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherd's wives are here mentioned; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nanda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the *gopas* of Nārāyana. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parva, v. 130 ff.; and Droṇa-parva, vv. 3255 ff, where the Nārāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kambojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karṇa, etc. (*Nārāyaṇaś cha gopālāḥ Kāmbojānāñcha ye yaṇāḥ | Karṇena vijitāḥ |*)

Droṇa-parva, 382.—*Dhṛitarâshtra uvâcha | śṛiṇu divyâni karmâṇi Vâsudevasya Sañjaya | kṛitavân yâni Govindo yathâ nânyaḥ pumân kvachit | samvardhatâ gopa-kule bâlenaiva mahâtmanâ | vikhyâpitam balam bâhvos trishu lokeshu Sañjaya | Uchchhaiḥśravas-tulya-balaṁ vâyu-vega-samaṁ jave | jaghâna Haya-râjânaṁ Yamunâ-vana-vâsinam | Dânavaṁ ghora-karmâṇaṁ gavâm mṛityum ivotthitam | vṛisha-rûpa-dharam bâlye bhujâbhyâṁ nijaghâna ha | Pralambhaṁ Narakaṁ Jambham Pîṭhaṁ vâ 'pi mahâsuram | Muraṁ châmara-saṅkâśam abadhît pushkarekṣaṇaḥ | tathâ Kaṁso mahâtejâ Jarâsandhena pâlitaḥ | vikrameṇaiva Kṛishṇena sagaṇaḥ pâtito raṇe | Sumâmâ raṇa-vikrântaḥ samagrâxauhiṇî-patiḥ | Bhoja-râjasya madhya-stho bhrâtâ Kaṁsasya vîryavân | Baladeva-dvitîyena Kṛishṇenâmitra-ghâtinâ | tarasvî samare daghdaḥ sa-sainyaḥ Śûrasena-râṭ | Durvâsâ nâma viprarshis tathâ parama-kopanaḥ | ârâdhitaḥ saḍureṇa sa chasmai pradadau varân | tathâ Gândhâra-râjasya sutâṁ vîraḥ svayaṁvare | nirjitya pṛithivî-pâlân âvahat pushkarekṣaṇaḥ | amṛishyamâṇâ râjâno yasya jâtyâ hayâ iva | rathe vaivâhike yuktâḥ pratodena kṛita-vraṇâḥ | Jarâsandham mahâbâhum upâyena Janârdanaḥ | pareṇa ghâtayâmâsa samagrâxauhiṇî-patim | Chedi-rajâñcha vikrântaṁ râja-senâ-patim balî | argho vivadamânañcha jaghâna paśu-vat tadâ | Saubhaṁ daitya-puraṁ svastham Sâlva-guptaṁ durâsadam | samudra-kuxau vikramya pâtayâmâsa Mâdhavaḥ | . . . . . v. 400 : Praviśya makarâvâsaṁ yâdobhir abhisaṁvṛitam | jigâya Varuṇaṁ saṅkhye salilântargatam purâ | yudhi Pañchajanaṁ hatva pâtâla-tala-vâsinam | pâñchajanyaṁ Hṛishîkeśo divyâṁ śaṅkham avâptavân | Khâṇḍave Pârtha-sahitas toshayitvâ Hutâśanam | âgneyam astraṁ durdharshaṁ chakraṁ lebhe mahâbalaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samâruhya trâsayitvâ 'marâvatîm | Mahendra-bhavanâd vîraḥ pârijâtam upânayat | tachcha marshitavân Śakro jânaṁs tasya parâkramam | râjñâṁ châpy ajitaṁ kañchit Kṛishṇeneha na śuśruma | yachcha tad mahad âścharyaṁ sabhâyâm mama Sañjaya | kṛitavân Puṇḍarîkâxaḥ kas tad-anya ihârhati | labdha-bhaktyâ prasanno 'ham adrâxaṁ Kṛishṇam îśvaram | tad me suviditaṁ sarvam pratyaxam iva châgamam | nântaṁ vikrama-yuktasya buddhyâ yuktasya vâ punaḥ | karmaṇâ śakyate gantuṁ Hṛishîkeśasya Sañjaya | tathâ Gadaś cha Sambaścha Pradyumno 'tha Vidûrathaḥ | . . . . . 410 : Ete 'nye balavantaś cha Vṛishṇi-vîrâḥ prahâriṇaḥ | kathañchit Pâṇḍavânîkaṁ śrayeyuḥ samare sthitâḥ | âhatâ Vṛishṇi-vîreṇa Keśavena mahâtmanâ | tataḥ saṁśayitaṁ sarvam bhaved iti matir mama | nâgâyutu-*

balo vīraḥ Kailāsa-śikharopamaḥ | vana-mālī halī Rāmas tatra yatra Janārdanaḥ | yam āhuḥ sarva-pitaraṁ Vāsudevaṁ dvijātayaḥ | api vā hy esha Pāṇḍūnāṁ yotsyate 'rthāya Sañjaya | sa yadā tāta sannahyet Pāṇḍavārthāya Sañjaya | na tadā pratisaṁyoddhā bhavitā tasya kaśchana | yadi sma Kuravaḥ sarve jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍavān | Vārshṇeyo 'rthāya teshāṁ vai gṛihṇīyāt śastram uttamam | tataḥ sarvān nara-vyāghro hatvā nara-patīn raṇe | Kauravāṁś cha mahābāhuḥ Kuntyai dadyāt sa medinīm | yasya yantā Hṛishīkeśo yoddhā yasya Dhanañjayaḥ | rathasya tasya kaḥ saṅkhye pratyanīko bhaved rathaḥ | na kenachid upāyena Kurūṇāṁ dṛiśyate jayaḥ | tasmād me sarvam ākhyāhi yathā yuddham avarttata | [180]

"Dhṛitarāshṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Krishṇa, which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds, the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds. He slew the king of the Hayas [horses], dwelling in the woods of the Yamunā, equal to Uchchaiḥśravas (the horse of Indra) in strength, and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the Dānava, a doer of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pralambha, Naraka, Jambha and Pīṭha, the great Asura, and Mura, resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jarāsandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Krishṇa, through his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the middle brother of Kansa, king of the Bhojas, the bold and heroic prince of the Śūrasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Krishṇa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a Brāhman rishi called Durvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped by him (Krishṇa), together with his wife, and bestowed on him boons.[181] So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes, carried off the daughter of the king of the Gandhāras at the *swayamvara*: [182] and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

[180] Towards the close of Dhṛitarāshṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial character occurs:—v. 429: *Pakvānāṁ hi badhe Śūra vajrāyante tṛiṇāny api* | "When men are ripe for slaughter, straws smite like thunderbolts."

[181] See the Anuśāsana-parva, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 165.

[182] Lassen, Ind., Art. i, 622, note, thinks this story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the Gandhāras, is mentioned in the Ait. Br., vii. 34. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 46, and the Second Part of this work, p. 365 f.

yoked like natural horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by an excellent device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain.[183] This hero also slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 179), the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering [made to Krishṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it." [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc. etc., conquered by Krishṇa.] . . . . . v. 400: "Entering of old the ocean, filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuṇa, who had sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajana dwelling in Pātāla, Hṛishīkeśa obtained the divine shell Pāñchajanya. Having, along with Pārtha, (the son of Pṛithā, Arjuna) propitiated Agni in Khāṇḍava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus.[184] Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvatī (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra.[185] And to this Śakra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Krishṇa. Then who but Puṇḍarīkāxa could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Krishṇa, the lord, with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the end of Hṛishīkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and Sāmba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the Vrishṇi tribe, summoned by the great Vrishṇi hero, Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pandavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero [Bala]rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for the Pandavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then

[183] See the story as told in the Sabhā-parvá, vv. 848 ff.

[184] Compare note 150, p. 159; and see Ādiparva, v. 8196, where the story is told.

[185] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 585 ff.

stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pandavas, Vārshṇeya (Krishṇa) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and lion-like man (*lit.* man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kunti. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hṛishikesa is the driver, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 199, *Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā*, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

Another account of Krishṇa's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parva. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy to the Pāndus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kurus the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Krishṇa (vv. 1863 ff.) He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Krishṇa (vv. 1875 ff.):

Pūrvāhṇe māṁ kṛita-japyaṁ kadāchid vipraḥ provāchodakānte manojñam | karttavyaṁ te dushkaraṁ karma Pārtha yodhavyaṁ te śatrubhiḥ Savyasāchin | Indro vā te harimān vajra-hastaḥ purastād yātu samare 'rīn nighnan | Sugrīva-yuktena rathena vā te paśchāt Kṛishṇo raxatu Vāsudevaḥ | vayo chāhaṁ vajra-hastād Mahendrād asmin yuddhe Vāsudevaṁ sahāyam | sa me labdho dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇo manye chaitad vihitaṁ daivatair me | sa bāhubhyāṁ sāgaram uttitīrshed mahodadhiṁ salilasyāprameyam | tejasvinaṁ Kṛishṇam atyanta-śūraṁ yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jigīshet | girīṁ sa ichhet tu talena bhettuṁ śilochayaṁ śvetaṁ atipramāṇam | tasyaiva pāṇiḥ sa-nakho viśīryed na chāpi kiñchit sa gires tu kuryāt | agniṁ samiddhaṁ śamayed bhujābhyāṁ chandrārocha sūryāñcha nivārayeta | hared devānām amṛitam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jigīshet | yo Rukmiṇīm eka-rathena Bhojān utsādya rājñaḥ samare prasahya | uvāha bhāryāṁ yaśasā jvalantīṁ yasyāṁ jajñe Raukmineyo mahātmā | ayaṁ Gāndhārāṁś tarasā sampramathya jitvā putrān Nagnajitaḥ samagrān | baddhaṁ mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudarśanaṁ vai devatānāṁ lalāmam | ayaṁ kapāṭena jaghāna Pāṇḍyaṁ tathā Kaliṅgān Dantakūre mamarda | ayena dagdhā varsha-pūgān anāthā Vārāṇasī nagarī sambabhūva | ayaṁ sma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajeyaṁ tam Ekalavyaṁ

nāma Nishāda-rājam | vegeneva śailam abhihatya Jambhaḥ śete sa Kṛishṇena hataḥ parāsuḥ | tathograsenasya sutaṁ sudushṭam Vṛishṇy-Andhakānām madhya-gataṁ sabhā-stham | apātayad Baladeva-dvitīyo hatvā dadau chograsenāya rājyam | ayaṁ Saubhaṁ yodhayāmāsa svastham vibhīshaṇam māyayā Śālva-rājam | Saubha-dvāri pratyagṛihṇāt śataghniṁ dorbhyāṁ ka enaṁ visaheta martyaḥ | Prāgjyotishaṁ nāma babhūva durgam puraṁ ghoram Asurāṇām asahyam | mahābalo Narakas tatra Bhaumo jahārādityā maṇi-kuṇḍale śubhe | na taṁ devāḥ saha Śakreṇa śekuḥ samāgatā yudhi mṛityor abhītāḥ | dṛishṭvā cha taṁ vikramaṁ Keśavasya balaṁ tathaivāstram avāraṇīyam | jānanto 'sya prakṛitiṁ Keśavasya nyāyojayan dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇam | sa tat karma pratiśuśrāva dushkaram aiśvaryavān siddhishu Vāsudevaḥ | nirmochane shaṭ sahasrāṇi hatvā sanchhidya pāśān sahasā yurāntān | Muraṁ hatvā vinihatyaugha-raxo nirmochanaṁ chāpi jagāma vīraḥ | tatraiva tenāsya babhūva yuddham mahābalenātibalasya Vishṇoḥ | śete sa Kṛishṇena hataḥ parāsur vāteneva mathitaḥ karṇikāraḥ | āhṛitya Kṛishṇo maṇi-kuṇḍale te hatvā cha Bhaumaṁ Narakam Muraṁcha | śriyā vṛito yaśasā chaiva vidvān pratyājagāmāpratima-prabhāvaḥ | asmai varān adadaṁs tatra devā dṛishṭvā bhīmaṁ karma kṛitaṁ raṇe tat | "śramaś cha te yudhyamānasya na syād ākāśe chāpsu cha te kramaḥ syāt | śastrāṇi gātre na cha te krameran" ity eva Kṛishṇaś cha tataḥ kṛitārthaḥ | evaṁ-rūpe Vāsudeve 'prameye mahābale guṇa-sampat sadaiva | tam asahyaṁ Vishṇum anantavīryam āśaṁśate Dhārttarāshṭro vijetum |

"Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and concluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words: 'Son of Pṛithā, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with thine enemies, o Savyasāchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, smiting thy foes, or shall Krishṇa the son of Vāsudeva, with his car, to which Sugrīva (one of Krishṇa's horses) is yoked, protect thee from behind?' I elected to have in the combat Vāsudeva for an ally, rather than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Krishṇa was obtained by me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the immeasurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Krishṇa. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāsa), a vast

pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vāsudeva in battle,—[Vāsudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmiṇī his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Raukmineya was born. He (Krishṇa) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], and was making an outcry.[166] He slew Pāndya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He attacked in battle Ekalavya the king of the Nishādas, who was invincible by others. He, [like ?] Jambha, sleeps, bereft of life by Krishṇa, who smote him furiously with a rock. Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst, in the assembly, of the Vrishnis and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Śālvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon *Śataghnī*:[167] what mortal can assail him? There was an impregnable, formidable, and unassailable city of the Asuras, called Prāgjyotisha. Thither the powerful Naraka son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi.[168] The

[166] One of the commentators says that Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains *devatānāṁ lalāmam* by *devatānām madhye praśastam* "approved among the gods." Another commentator says *lalāmam = śiromaṇim*, "a head-jewel or ornament." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādhara also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Krishṇa's foot.

[167] A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson's Dictionary. See the end of note 162, page 180, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying city of Saubha and of its king in the Vana-parva. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615-635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636-889. Krishṇa splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 883) and kills the king of the Śālvas himself (v. 885).—See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615.

[168] The story of this demon is told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, pp. 581 ff.

assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not [overcome] him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Kośava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Krishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (*aiśvaryavān siddhishu*), undertook that difficult task. Having in the rescue [or in the city Nirmochana] slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors,[189] having slain Mura and the Rāxasa Ogha, he proceeded to the rescue. There Vishṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Krishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a *karnikāra*[190] tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Krishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods, having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: 'Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.' With these boons Krishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Vishṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhritarāshtra hopes to overcome."

It will be noticed that Krishṇa is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parva describes Krishṇa as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Krishṇa, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit

[189] These nooses are also mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's translation) and in the Harivaṁśa, v, 6833. See Langlois's note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii. p. 278 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel's edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the *dharma-pāśa*, the *kāla-pāśa*, and the *Vāruṇa-pāśa*. In the Vana-parva, 879, the epithet *xurānta*, sharp as a razor, is applied to Krishṇa's discus.

[190] Pterospermum acerifolium.

the Pāṇḍavas in the forest; and as he shewed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurus, Arjuna, to appease him, related his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.): *Arjuna uvācha | Daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi yatra Sāyangṛiho muniḥ | vyacharas tvam purā Kṛishṇa parvate Gandhamādane | daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi daśa-varsha-śatāni cha | pushkareshv avasaḥ Kṛishṇa tvam apo bhaxayan purā | ūrdhva-bāhur viśālāyāṁ Vadaryam Madhusūdana | atishṭha eka-pādena vāyu-bhaxaḥ śatam samāḥ | avakṛishṭottarāsangaḥ kṛiśo dhamani-santataḥ | āsīḥ Kṛishna Sarasvatyāṁ satre dvādaśa-vārshike | Prabhāsam apy athāsādya tīrthaṁ puṇya-janochitam | tathā Kṛishṇa mahātejā divyaṁ varsha-sahasrikam* (sic) *| atishṭhas tvam yathaikena pādena niyama-sthitaḥ | loka-pravṛitti-hetos tvam iti Vyāso mamābravīt | xetra-jñaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ādir antaś cha Keśava | nidhānam tapasāṁ Kṛishṇa yajñas tvaṁ cha sanātanaḥ | nihatya Narakam Bhaumam āhṛitya maṇi-kuṇḍale | prathamotpāditaṁ Kṛishṇa medhyam aśvam avāsṛijaḥ | kṛitvā tat karma lokānām ṛishabhaḥ sarva-loka-jit | abadhīs tvāṁ raṇe sarvān sametān daitya-dānavān | tataḥ sarveśvaratvaṁ cha sampradāya Śachī-pateḥ | mānusheshu mahābāho prādurbhūto 'si Keśava | sa tvaṁ Nārāyaṇo bhūtvā Harir āsīḥ parantapa | Brahmā Somaś cha Sūryaś cha Dharmo Dhātā Yamo 'nalaḥ | Vāyur Vaiśravaṇo Rudraḥ kālaḥ kham pṛithivī diśaḥ | ajaś charāchara-guruḥ srashṭā tvam purushottama | parāyaṇaṁ devam ūrdhvaṁ kratubhir Madhusūdana | ayajo bhūri-tejā vai Kṛishṇa Chaitrarathe vane | śataṁ śata-sahasrāṇi suvarṇasya Janārdana | ekaikasmiṁs tadā yajñe paripūrṇāni bhāgasaḥ | . . . . . Sāditā Mauravāḥ pāśā Nisunda-Narakau hatau | kṛitaḥ xemaḥ punaḥ panthāḥ puram Prāgjyotisham prati | Jārūthyām Āhvṛitiḥ Krāthaḥ Śiśupālo janaiḥ saha | Jarāsandhaś cha Śaivyaś cha Śatadhanvā cha nirjitaḥ | tathā Parjanya-ghoshṇa rathenāditya-varchasā | avāpsīr mahishīm bhojyāṁ raṇe nirjitya Rukmiṇam | Indrayumno hataḥ kopād Yavanaś cha Kaserumān | hataḥ Saubha-patiḥ Śālvas tvayā Saubhaṁ cha pātitam | Irāvatyāṁ hato Bhojaḥ Kārttavīrya-samo yudhi | Gopatis Tālaketuś cha tvayā vinihatāv ubhau | tāṁ cha Bhogavatīm puṇyam Ṛishikāṁ tāṁ Janārdana | Dvārakām ātmasāt kṛitvā samudraṁ gamayishyasi | na krodho na cha mātsaryaṁ nānṛitam Madhusūdana | tvayi tishṭhati Dāśārha na nṛiśaṁsyaṁ kuto 'nṛijuḥ | āsīnaṁ chaitya-madhye tvāṁ dīpyamānaṁ sva-tejasā | āgamya rishayaḥ sarve 'yāchanābhayam Achyuta |*

Vana-parva, 471: "Formerly, Krishṇa, thou didst roam for ten

thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādana, where the muni Sāyangṛiha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhāsa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest, glorious Krishṇa, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyāsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the receptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Naraka, the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled earrings, thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having performed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds, thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daitys and Dānavas. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, o great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nārāyana, wert Hari, o vexer of thy foes. Thou, o Purushottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Sūrya, Dharma, Dhātṛi, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Krishṇa, of great glory, didst with sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitraratha. A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally told out in full tale at each sacrifice." [Here follow the verses quoted above, p. 118, beginning *Aditer api putratvam*, and ending *nihatāḥ śataśo 'surāḥ*.] The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgjyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthī Āhvṛiti, Krūtha, Śiśupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Śaivya and Śatadhanvan[191] were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy car, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 179.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavana Kaserumat, and Śālva, the lord of Saubha, and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārttavīrya[192] in battle, was slain by thee on the Irāvatī,

[191] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purana, pp. 428 ff.
[192] See the First Part of this work, pp. 151 ff.

as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāśārha (Krishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the *chaitya* (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thine own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 193, beginning *yugānte sarva-bhūtāni saṃkṣipya*, etc.]

VI. Though, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābharata and Purāṇas, Krishṇa is generally identified with Viṣhṇu, and Viṣhṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 42) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Krishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Śuka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yadu. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Viṣhṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (*tatrāṃśenāvatīrṇasya Viṣhṇor vīryāṇi śaṃsa naḥ | avatīrya Yador vaṃśe bhagavān bhūta-bhāvanaḥ | kṛitavān yāni viśvātmā tāni no vada vistarāt |*). Śuka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Viṣhṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky:

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—*Girāṃ samādhau gagane samīritāṃ niśamya Vedhās tridaśān uvācha ha | gāṃ paurushīṃ me śṛiṇutāmarāḥ punar vidhīyatām āśu tathaiva māchiram | puraiva puṃsā (Īśvareṇa*, Comm.) *'vadhṛito dharā-jvaro bhavadbhir aṃśair Yadushūpajanyatām | sa yāvad urvyā bharam* (sic) *īśvareśvaraḥ | sva-kāla-śaktyā xapayaṃś chared bhuvi | Vasudeva-gṛihe sāxād bhagavān Purushaḥ paraḥ | janishyate tat-priyār-thaṃ sambhavantu sura-striyaḥ | Vasudeva-kalā 'nantaḥ sahasra-vadanaḥ svarāṭ | agrato bhavitā devo Hareḥ priya-chikīrshayā | Viṣhṇor māyā bhagavatī yayā sammohitaṃ jagat | ādiṣṭā prabhuṇā 'ṃśena kāryārthe sambhaviṣhyati |*

"Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in the sky, Vedhas (Brahmā) said to the gods: 'Hear from me, immortals,

the voice of Purusha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. The distress of the earth was already understood by Purusha. Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destructive power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person (*sākṣāt*) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-resplendent deity shall first become a portion of Vasudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The divine Delusion of Vishṇu, by which the world is deceived, being commanded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the desired objects."

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, also, the incarnation of Vishṇu is spoken of as that of a part, or even a part of a part. At the commencement of the fifth book of that work the following lines occur:

Nṛipānāṁ kathitaḥ sarvo bhavatā vaṁśa-vistaraḥ | Vaṁśānucharitaṁ chaiva yathāvad anuvarṇitam | Aṁśāvatāro brahmarshe yo 'yaṁ Yadu-kulodbhavaḥ | Vishṇos taṁ vistareṇāhaṁ śrotum ichchhāmy aśeshataḥ | Chakārayāni karmāṇi bhagavān Purushottamaḥ | Aṁśāṁśenāvatīryorvyāṁ tatra tāni mune vada | Parāśara uvācha | Maitreya śrūyatām ebad yat pṛishṭo 'ham iha tvayā | Vishṇor aṁśāṁśa-sambhūti-charitaṁ jagato hitam |

"You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vishṇu which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies: Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishṇu."

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 493–497) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revived in Kansa, and other demons had also been born as princes; and that she could not support the load. Brahmā proposed that they should resort to Vishṇu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a" very "small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (*sarvadaiva jagaty-arthe sa sarvātmā jaganmayaḥ | svalpāṁśenāvatīryyorvyāṁ dharmasya kurute sthitim |*). The gods

accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishṇu in a long hymn. Vishṇu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahmā renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

Evaṁ saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvaraḥ | Ujjahārātmanaḥ keśau sita-kṛishṇau mahāmune | Uvācha cha surān etau mat-keśāu vasudhā-tale | Avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hāniṁ karishyataḥ | Surāścha sakalāḥ svāṁśair avatīrya mahītale [193] *| Kurvantu yuddham unmattaiḥ pūrvotpannair mahāsuraiḥ | Tataḥ kṣayam aśeshās te Daiteyā dharaṇītale | Prayāsyanti na sandeho mad-dṛik-pāta-vichūrṇitāḥ | Vasudevasya yā patnī Devakī devarūpamā | Tasyāyam ashṭamo garbho* [194] *matkeśo bhavitā surāḥ | Avatīrya cha tatrāyaṁ* [195] *Kaṁsam ghātayitā bhuvi | Kālanemiṁ samudbhūtam ityuktvā 'ntardadhe Hariḥ | Adṛiśyāya tataḥ tasmai praṇipatya mahāmune | Meru-pṛishṭham surā jagmur avateruś cha bhūtale |*

"Being thus lauded, the divine Parameśwara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, 'These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burthen and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who existed in former births. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva, who (Devakī) resembles the gods. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kansa, the Kālanemi who has been born.' Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth."

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishṇu Purāṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages, and which have reference to the second also:

"Chakāra" iti | tatra Kṛishṇāvatāre ati-parichhinna-manushyākāra-līlā-vigraheṇāvirbhāvād aṁśāṁśena ity uktam upachārāt | natu śakti-hrāseṇa Kṛishṇādy-avatāreshv api viśva-rūpa-darśana-sarvaiśvaryādy-ukteḥ | Nanu aṁśino 'ṁśoddhāreṇa śakty-ādi-hrāsas tathā 'ṁśasyāpi tad-

[193] Another MS. reads *mahītalam.*
[194] Another MS. reads *esha garbho 'ṣhṭamas tasyāḥ.*
[195] Another MS. reads *tatrāham.*

apexya alpa-śaktitvādikaṁ dhānya-rāśy-ādi-vibhāga iva prasajyeta iti ched na | prakāśa-svarūpo tad-abhāvāt | pradīpasya hi tan-mūlaka-dīpāntarasya vā upādhi-bhede 'pi śakty-ādi-sāmya-darśanāt "pūrṇam adaḥ pūrṇam idam pūrṇāt pūrṇaṁ udachyate | pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evāvaśishyate" iti śruteḥ | "paraṁ Brahma narākṛiti gūḍham paraṁ Brahma manushya-liṅgaṁ Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam" ityādi-vākyebhyaś cha | yas tu "mat-keśau vasudhā-tale" ity-ādāv "ayaṁ Kaṁsaṁ ghātayitā" ity atra keśa-vyapadeśaḥ sa Brahmaṇaḥ paripūrṇasya bhū-bhāra-haraṇa-rūpaṁ kāryyam aty-alpa-yantra-sādhyam iti khyāpayituṁ na tu keśayoḥ Rāma-Kṛishṇatvaṁ vaktum | jaḍayoḥ keśayos tad-deha-xetrajñatvābhāvena tat-kāryaṁ karttum aśaktatvāt | keśātmaka-māyayod-bhava-Rāma-Kṛishṇa-dehāv ādiśya [āviśya ?] bhagavān eva tat tat karishyati iti ched om iti brūmaḥ phalato 'viśeshāt "kṛishṇāshṭamyām aham niśi" iti svayam evoktatvāch cha ity alaṁ vistareṇa |

"Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Krishṇa incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Krishṇa and other incarnations he is said to have shewn himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the Śatapatha Brahmaṇa, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094), 'That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains;' and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Krishṇa is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instru-

mentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Kṛishṇa: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord possessing the bodies of Balarāma and Krishṇa, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I shall [be born] on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity." [196]

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text: [197]

Ujjahāra | utpāṭitavān | ayam bhāvaḥ | mama dushkaraṁ ched yushmābhiḥ sāhayyaṁ kāryaṁ syāt | na tv etad asti bhū-bhārāpaharaṇādau mahaty api kārye mat-keśa-mātrasyaiva samarthatvād iti na tu keśa-mātrāvatāra iti manṭavyam | "mad-dṛik-pāta-vishūrṇitāḥ" "kṛishṇāshṭamyām aham utpatsyāmi" ityādishu sākṣāt svāvatāratvoktēḥ | sita-kṛishṇa-keśoddhāraṇaṁ cha śobhārtham eva | "*Ujjahāra* means that he 'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows: 'It would be a difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But it is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words 'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc. etc. The mention of his plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament." [198]

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Krishṇa from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parva, 7306 ff.:

Tair eva sārddhaṁ tu tataḥ sa devo jagāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam | anantam avyaktam ajam purāṇaṁ sanātanaṁ viśvam ananta-rūpam | sa chāpi tad vyadadhāt sarvam eva tataḥ sarve sambabhūvur dharaṇyām | sa chāpi keśau Harir udvavarha śuklam ekam aparaṁ chāpi kṛishṇam |

[196] The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

[197] I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for copying this passage for me.

[198] See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, viz., note 3 in p. 492, and note 23 in p. 497.

tau chāpi keśau niviśetāṁ Yadūnāṁ kule striyau Devakīṁ Rohiṇīṁ cha | tayor eko Baladevo babhūva yo 'sau śvetas tasya devasya keśaḥ | Kṛishṇo dvitīyaḥ Keśavaḥ sambabhūva keśo yo 'sau varṇataḥ kṛishṇa uktaḥ |

"Along with them (viz., four preceding Indras, and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Nārāyana, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devakī and Rohiṇī. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Bāladēva; while the second hair (*keśa*), which was called black (*kṛishṇa*) in colour, became Kṛishṇa, Keśava."

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nīlakaṇṭha, one of the commentators on the Mahābhārata:

Atra keśāv eva reto-rūpau Pāṇḍavānām iva Rāma-Kṛishṇayor api prakaraṇa-saṅgaty-arthaṁ sākṣād deva-retasa utpatter avaktavyatvāt[199] *| ata eva Devakyāṁ Rohiṇyāñcha sākṣāt keśa-praveśa uchyate na tu Vasudeve | tathā sati tu "devānāṁ reto varshaṁ varshasya ṛita oshadhayaḥ" ityādi-śrauta-pramāṇyā 'smād-ādi-vat tayor api vyavadhānena deva-prabhavatvaṁ syāt | tathā cha "etan nānā-'vatārāṇāṁ nidhānaṁ bījam avyayam" iti bhagavataḥ sākṣād matsyādy-avatāra-bījatvam uchyamānaṁ virudhyeta | apicha keśa-retasor deha-jatve samāne 'pi retaḥ-prabhavatve 'rvāksrotastvena manushyatvam putratvaṁ cha syāt | tathā cha "Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam" iti śrīmad-bhāgavatoktiḥ saṅgachhate | na cha keśoddhāraṇāt Kṛishṇasyāpy aṁśatvam pratīyate iti vāchyam | keśasya dehāvayavatvābhāvāt | tasmād Namuchi-badhe kartavye yathā apām phene vajrasya praveśaḥ evaṁ Devakī-Rohiṇyor jaṭhare praveśe kartavye keśa-dvayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārtsnyena eva āvirbhāva eshṭavyaḥ iti yuktam |*

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, just as in the case of the Pāndavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devakī and Rohiṇī [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But such being the case, according to the Vedic phrase-

[199] The MS. in the E. I. Office library reads *avaśya-vaktavyatvāt |*

ology, that 'rain is the seed of the gods and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Krishṇa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'[200]—it would be opposed to that declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body, yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that 'Krishṇa is the Lord himself,' is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Krishṇa also is shewn to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a *part* of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters,[201] so when an entrance was to be made into the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṇī, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

VII.—In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Vishṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 33, 43, 150). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Śāntiparva, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishṭhira says to Krishṇa:

[200] I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.

[201] I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz., that mentioned in R. V. viii. 14, 13: *Apām phenena Namuceḥ śira Indrodavarttayaḥ | viśvā yad ajayaḥ spṛidhaḥ |* "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents." On this Sāyaṇa tells the following story: *Purā kila Indro 'surān jitvā Namuchim asuraṃ gṛihītvā na śaśāka | sa cha yudhyamānas tenāsurena jagṛihe | sa cha gṛihītam Indram evam avochat "tvāṃ visṛijāmi rātrāv ahni cha śushkenārdreṇa chāyudhena yadi māṃ na hiṃsīr" iti | sa Indras tena visṛishṭaḥ sann ahorātrayoḥ sandhau śushkārdra-vilakṣaṇena phenena tasya śiras chichheda | ayam artho 'syāṃ pratipādyate | He Indra apām phenena vajrībhūtena Namucher Asurasya śira udavarttayaḥ |* "Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura. The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: 'I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.' Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam which has the character of being both dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse." The story is also told in the Indra-vijaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 186 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parva, vv. 320 ff.

Tava Kṛishṇa prasādena nayena cha balena cha | buddhyā cha Yadu-śārdūla tathā vikramaṇena cha | punaḥ prāptam idaṁ rājyam pitṛi-paitāmaham mayā | namas te Puṇḍarīkāxa punaḥ punar arindama | tvām ekam āhuḥ Purushaṁ tvām āhuḥ Sāttvatāṁ gatim | nāmabhis tvām bahuvidhaiḥ stuvanti prayatā dvijāḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvātman viśva-sambhava | Vishṇo jishṇo Hare Kṛishṇa Vaikuṇṭha Purushottama | Adityāḥ saptadhā tvaṁ tu purāṇe garbhatāṁ gataḥ | Pṛiśnigarbhas tvam ovaikas triyugaṁ tvāṁ vādanty api | Suchiśravā Hṛishīkeśo ghṛitāchir haṁsa uchyase | trichaxuḥ Sambhur ekas tvaṁ vibhur Dāmodaro 'pi cha | Varāho 'gnir vṛihadbhānur vṛishabhas Tārxya-laxaṇaḥ | . . . . 1514: *Yonis tvam asya pralayaścha Kṛishṇa tvam evedaṁ sṛijasi viśvam agre | viśvañchedaṁ tvad-vaśe viśvayone namo 'stu te śārṅga-chakrāsi-pāṇe |*

"By thy favour, Krishṇa, chief of the Yadus, and policy, and power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom of my father's and grandfather's. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed, subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Purusha: thee alone they call the refuge of the Sāttvats. Devout twice-born men laud thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Vishṇu, conqueror, Hari, Krishṇa, Vaikuṇṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.[202] Thou alone art Pṛiśnigarbha; they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (*yugas*). Thou art called Suchiśravas, Hṛishīkeśa, Ghṛitāchi, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhānu,[203] the Bull, he whose sign is Tārxya (Garuḍa)." A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words: "Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Krishṇa: it is thou who createst it in the beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou universal source: glory be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword."

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīshma to Krishṇa is given, in which the following lines occur:

"*Yasmin viśvāni bhūtāni tishṭhanti cha viśanti cha | guṇa-bhūtāni bhūteśe sūtre maṇi-gaṇā iva | yasmin nitye tate tantau dṛiḍhe srag iva*

[202] This, I suppose, refers to the Ādityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, p. 101.

[203] A name of Agni.

tishṭhati | sad-asad grathitaṁ viśvaṁ viśvāṅge viśva-karmaṇi | Hariṁ sahasra-śirasaṁ sahasra-charaṇekṣaṇam | . . . . . prāhur Nārāyaṇaṁ devaṁ yaṁ viśvasya parāyaṇam | anīyasām anīyāṁsaṁ sthavishṭhaṁ cha sthavīyasām | garīyasaṁ garishṭham cha śreshṭhaṁ cha śreyasām api | yaṁ vākeshv anuvākeshu nishatsūpanishatsu cha | gṛiṇanti satya-karmāṇaṁ satyaṁ satyeshu sāmasu | ityādi | . . . . . 1616: Sarvātmā sarva-vit sarvaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarva-bhāvanaḥ | yaṁ devaṁ Devakī devī Vasudevād ajījanat | Bhaumasya Brahmaṇo guptyai dīptaṁ Agnim ivāraṇiḥ | . . . 1622: Yasmin lokāḥ sphurantīme jale śakunayo yathā |

"In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread, the universe abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, ... whom they call Nārāyana, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in *vākas*, *anuvākas*, in *nishads*[204] and in *upanishads*, and in true *sāma*-hymns, . . . the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devakā bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (*i.e.* the Vedas, Brahmans and sacrifices, comm.) as Araṇi (the wood used for kindling fire), produced the flaming Agni. . . . In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water," etc.

In the following passage, also from the Śantiparva, Krishṇa identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see

[204] This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as *nishads*, or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the *Upanishads* may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the *Upapuranas* do to the *Puranas*. Nīlakantha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains *nishatsu* as meaning *karmāṅgādy-avabaddha-devatādi-jñāna-vākyeshu*, "works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda, etc." The *Upanishads* "reveal the knowledge of soul alone" (*kevalātma-jñāpaka-vākyeshu*). *Vākas*, according to the same authority, "make known ceremonies generally" (*sāmānyataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu*), while *anuvākas* are "texts of the Brāhmans, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (*mantrārtha-vivaraṇa-bhūteshu brāhmaṇa-vākyeshu*).

above, pp. 155–170) in which Krishṇa is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Krishṇa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and this Krishṇa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half[205] (*tvaṁ hi me 'rddhaṁ smṛitaḥ purā*). Nārāyaṇa (*i.e.* Vishṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140: *Yasya prasādajo Brahmā Rudraścha krodha-sambhavaḥ* |). He then goes on (13144): *Brāhme rātri-xaye prāpte tasya ky amita-tejasaḥ* | *prasādāt prādurabhavat padmam padma-nibhexaṇa* | *tato Brahmā samabhavat sa tasyaiva prasādajaḥ* | *ahnaḥ xaye lalāṭāchcha suto devasya vai tathā* | *krodhāvishṭasya saṁjajñe Rudraḥ saṁhāra-kārakaḥ* | *etau dvau vibudha-śreshṭhau prasāda-krodha-jāv ubhau* | *tad-ādeśita-panthānau sṛishṭi-saṁhāra-kārakau* | *nimitta-mātram tāv atra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pradau* | *kapardḍī jaṭilo muṇḍaḥ śmaśāna-gṛiha-sevakaḥ* | *ugra- -xy* mutter- *Rudro yogī parama-dāruṇaḥ* | *Daxa-kratu-haraśchaiva Bha* of the world? *tathā* | *Nārāyaṇātmako jñeyaḥ Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge* | *tasm* with his thou- *māne vai deva-deve Maheśvare* | *sampūjito bhavet Pārtha dev* orld, the god *prabhuḥ* | *aham ātmā hi lokānām viśveshām Pāṇḍu-nandana* ing Purusha, *ātmānam evāgre Rudrāṁ sampūjayāmy aham* | *yady ahaṁ na* n, without *vai Īśānāṁ varadaṁ Śivam* | *ātmānaṁ nārchayet kaśchid iti m* ntinually *ātmanaḥ* | *mayā pramāṇaṁ hi kṛitaṁ lokaḥ samanuvarttate* | *pri* duty, *hi pūjyāni tatas tam pūjayāmy aham* | *yas taṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti y* the *taṁ sa hi mām anu* | *Rudro Nārāyaṇaś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvidhākṛitaṁ* | *loke charati Kaunteya vyakti-sthaṁ sarva-karmasu* | *na hi me konachid devo varaḥ Pāṇḍava-nandana* | *iti saṁchintya manasā purāṇaṁ Rudram īśvaram* | *puttrārtham ārādhitavān aham ātmānam ātmanā* | *na hi Vishṇuḥ praṇamati kasmaichit vibudhāya cha* | *ṛita ātmānam eveti tato Rudram bhajāmy aham* | *sabrahmakāḥ sarudraścha sendrā devāḥ saharshibhiḥ* | *arohayanti sura-śreshṭhaṁ devaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ Harim* | *bhavishyataṁ varttatāñcha bhūtānāñchaiva Bhārata* | *sarveshām agraṇīr Vishṇuḥ sevyaḥ pūjyaścha nityaśaḥ ityādi* |

[205] See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 194, 198, 199.

"When the end of Brahmā's night had arrived, there sprang from the good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, o thou whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahmā, who was the offspring of his (Vishṇu's) good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger, have their courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplishers [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Daxa's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyana. For when that god of gods Maheśvara is worshipped, then, son of Pṛithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Iśāna, the boon-bestowing Śiva, no one would *brahma-[illegible]*,—this is [the reflection?] made by me who am con- *sthaḥ śarīre mu* spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] *devatāḥ | sa de* llows.[206] Authoritative examples are to be reverenced: *bhavārtham i* rence him (Śiva). He who knows him knows me; he who *mārge Mār* oves me.[207] Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into *mahātmano* te in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting *mahāyaśā,* nd that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] *iti khyā* the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, *devo* obtain a son (see p. 163). For Vishṇu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Vishṇu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually."

In the following passage (Anuśāsana-parva, vv. 6295 ff.), some parts of which may be later interpolations, Krishṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is

[206] See above, p. 46, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gita, iii. 21 ff.

[207] Compare the same phrase in p. 204.

represented as the supreme deity. Bhīshma, at the request of Yudhishthira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Krishṇa. He states that Krishṇa had performed a ceremonial (*vrata*) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis fire issued from the mouth of Krishṇa, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Krishṇa asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (*tejas*) of Vishnu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahādeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of this power (*tejas*). Krishṇa next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Krishṇa's praises, appoint Nārada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himālaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Nārada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahādeva and his wife Umā or Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himālaya. Mahādeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (*tapas*, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (*Bhūtas*) and by the nymphs (*Apsarases*), etc. etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrificial cord (6355 f.), his wife Umā comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (*Bhūta-strī-gaṇa*), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and *vashaṭkāras*, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame which bursts from Mahādeva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it con-

sumed. Umā hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter enquires why Mahādeva's third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīshma then informs us that, at the close of Umā's discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (*Gandharvas*). We should have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor: but at this point he is interrupted by Bhīshma, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīshma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds, and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Krishṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada's discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Krishṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he should have a son like himself. Bhīshma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Krishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine

character. Yudishthira, however, is still unsatisfied, and enquires as follows (6937 ff.):

Kim ekam daivataṁ loke kiṁ vā py ekam parāyaṇam | kaṁ stuvantaḥ kam archantaḥ prāpnuyur mānavāḥ śubham | ko dharmaḥ sarva-dharmāṇam bhavataḥ paramo mataḥ | kiṁ japan muchyate jantur janma-saṁsāra-bandhanāt | Bhīshma uvācha | Jagat-prabhuṁ deva-devam anantam purushottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasreṇa purushaḥ satatotthitaḥ | tam eva chārchayan nityam bhaktyā purusham avyayam | dhyāyan stuvan namasyaṁścha yajamānas tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanaṁ Vishṇuṁ sarva-loka-maheśvaram | lokādhyaxaṁ stuvan nityaṁ sarva-duḥkhātigo bhavet | brahmaṇyaṁ sarva-dharma-jñaṁ lokānāṁ kīrtti-vardḍhanan | loka-nātham mahad bhūtaṁ sarva-bhūta-bhavodbhavam | esha me sarva-dharmāṇāṁ dharmo 'dhikatamo mataḥ | . . . . 6946: Yataḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhavanty ādi-yugāgame | yasmiṁścha pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yuga-xaye | tasya loka-pradhānasya jagannāthasya bhūpate | Vishṇor nāma-sahasram me śṛiṇu pāpa-bhayāpaham |

"What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest [illegible] ing what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and[illegible] Bhīshma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding [illegible] sand names the supreme infinite Purusha, the lord of the [illegible] of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecay[illegible] contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Vishn[illegible] beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding [illegible] the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in [illegible] the augmenter of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, [illegible] great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . . . v. 6946: Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Vishṇu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing *yuga*, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the *yuga*."

These thousand names of Vishṇu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all of them ordinarily appellations of Mahādeva, viz., Sarva, Śarva, Śiva, Sthāṇu (v. 6953), Iśāna (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962),

Again, we are informed in the Anuśāsana-parva, that the rishis requested Mahādeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff.:

Pitāmahād api varaḥ śāśvataḥ Purusho Hariḥ | Kṛishṇo jāmbūnadābhāso vyabhre sūrya ivoditaḥ | daśa-bāhur mahātejā devatāri-nisūdanaḥ | śrīvatsāṅko Hṛishīkeśaḥ sarva-daivata-pūjitaḥ | Brahmā tasyodara-bhavas tathā chāhaṁ śiro-bhavaḥ | śiroruhebhyo jyotīṁshi romabhyascha surāsurāḥ | ṛishayo deha-sambhūtās tathā lokāś cha śāśvatāḥ | Pitāmaha-gṛihaṁ sāxāt sarva-deva-gṛihaṁ cha saḥ | so 'syāḥ pṛithivyāḥ kṛitsnāyāḥ srashṭā tribhuvaneśvaraḥ | saṁharttā chaiva bhūtānāṁ sthāvarasya charasya cha | sa hi deva-varaḥ sāxād deva-nāthaḥ parantapaḥ | sarvajñaḥ sa hi saṁślishṭaḥ sarvagaḥ sarvato-mukhaḥ | paramātmā hṛishīkeśaḥ sarva-vyāpī maheśvaraḥ | na tasmāt paramam bhūtaṁ trishu lokeshu kiñchana | sanātano vai Madhuhā Govinda iti viśrutaḥ | sa sarvān pārthivān saṇkhye ghātayishyati mānadaḥ | sura-kāryyārtham utpanno mānushaṁ vapur āsthitaḥ | na hi deva-gaṇāḥ śaktās Trivikrama-vinākṛitāḥ | bhuvane deva-kāryyāṇi ka[illegible]ṁ nāyaka-varjjitāḥ | nāyakaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ sarva-bhūta-namaskṛi[illegible]sya deva-nāthasya deva-kāryya-ratasya cha | [illegible] bhūtasy[illegible] [illegible]varshi-śūraṇasyā cha | Brahmā vasati garbha-

worship myself [illegible]

templative ir[illegible]*kha-saṁsthitaḥ | sarvāḥ sukhaṁ saṁśritāś cha śarīre tasya*

the world fo[illegible]*vaḥ puṇḍarīkāxaḥ śrīgarbhaḥ śrī-sahoshitaḥ | ityādi | . . .*

hence I reve[illegible]*a devānām buddhyā paramayā yutaḥ | prājāpatye śubhe*

loves him l[illegible]*ve dharma-saṁhite | samutpatsyati Govindo Manor vaṁśe*

two, opera[illegible]*ḥ | . . . .* v. 6836: *Sa Sūraḥ xatriya-śreshṭho mahāvīryyo*

in my mi[illegible]*ḥ | sva-vaṁśa-vistara-karaṁ janayishyati mānadaḥ | Vasudeva*

adored *tam putram Ānakadundubhim | tasya putraś chaturbāhur Vāsu-*

to [illegible]*bhavishyati | dātā brāhmaṇa-satkarttā brahmabhūto dvija-priyaḥ |*

. . . . 6842: *Tam bhavantaḥ samāsādya vāṇ-mālyair arhaṇair varaiḥ | archayantu yathānyāyam Brahmāṇam iva śāśvatam | yo hi māṁ drashṭum ichheta Brahmāṇañcha pitāmaham | drashṭavyas tena bhagavān Vāsudevaḥ pratāpavān | drishṭe tasminn ahaṁ dṛishṭo na me 'trāsti vichāraṇā | pitāmaho vā deveśa iti vitta tapodhanāḥ |*

"Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Purusha, Krishṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatsa, Hṛishīkeśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair

of his head, the gods and Asuras from his hairs, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the moveable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛishīkeśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice) are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahmā dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śrī, dwelling together with Śrī. . . . . For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati, of Manu, abounding in righteousness. . . . . 6836: This Śūra, the most eminent of Kshattriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Ānakadundubhi,[208] the prolonger of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a benefactor of Brāhmans, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmans. . . . . 6842: You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods: know this ye whose wealth is austerity."

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parva (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhīshma, when called on by Yudhishṭhira to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmans, refers him

[208] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 436.

to Krishṇa, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

Kṛishṇaḥ pṛithvīm asṛijat khaṁ divañcha Kṛishṇasya dehād medinī sambabhūva | varāho 'yam bhīma-balaḥ purāṇaḥ sa parvatān vyasṛijad vai diśaścha | asya chādho 'thāntarīxaṁ divañcha diśaś chatasro vidiśaś chatasraḥ | sṛishṭis tathaiveyam anuprasūtā sa nirmame viśvam idam purāṇam | asya nābhyām pushkaraṁ samprasūtaṁ yatropannaḥ svayam evāmitaujāḥ | yena chhinnaṁ yat tamaḥ Pārtha ghoraṁ yat tat tishṭhaty arṇavaṁ tatpayāṇam | . . . . 7388: Vāyur bhūtvā vixipate sa viśvam agnir bhūtvā dahate viśva-rūpaḥ | āpo bhūtvā majjayate sa sarvam Brahmā bhūtvā sṛijate sarva-saṅghān | vedyañcha yad vedayate cha vedyaṁ vidhiścha yaś chāśrayate vidheyam | dharme cha vede bale cha sarvaṁ charāchharaṁ Keśavaṁ tvaṁ pratīhi | jyotir-bhūtaḥ paramo 'sau purastāt prakāśate yat prabhayā viśva-rūpaḥ | apaḥ sṛishṭvā sarva-bhūtātma-yoniḥ purā 'karot sarvam evātha viśvam ityādi |

"Krishṇa created the earth, the air, and the sky; from Krishṇa's body the earth was produced. He is the ancient boar of fearful strength; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions, and the four intermediate regions: and [from him] this creation sprang forth: he formed this ancient universe. In his navel a lotus grew up, where he himself [in the form of Brahmā] was born of boundless power. By him the dreadful darkness was pierced, that threatening ocean which abides. . . . . 7388: Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe; becoming Fire, he burns it, universal in his forms; becoming Water, he drowns all things; becoming Brahmā, he creates all the hosts [of beings]. He is whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known: he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed. Believe that Keśava [abides] in righteousness, in the Veda, in strength, and that he is the whole world, moveable and immoveable. Since he, the supreme, being by nature luminous, shines from the beginning, in every form of splendour, this soul and source of all beings, having created the waters, formed of old this entire universe." Krishṇa then (vv. 7402 ff.) proceeds to set forth the benefits of reverence to Brāhmaṇs, who he says (7412 f.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience (see above, p. 165).

He afterwards goes on in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 165–170, to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity, though he does not there commit himself to any such explicit avowal of the supreme divinity of his rival, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (Anuśāsana-parva, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 230 f.

In the Āśvamedhika-parva it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Krishṉa had left the city of the Pandus, and was journeying to Dvārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttanga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kurus and Pandus with one another. Krishṉa replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttanga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Krishṉa because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni's wrath, Krishṉa offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff.:

Vāsudeva uvācha | tamo rajaś cha sattvaṁ cha viddhi bhāvān mad-āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn vā 'pi viddhi mat-prabhavān dvija | mayi sarvāṉi bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chāpy aham | sthitaḥ ityādi | . . . . .
1567: *Sad asachchaiva yat prāhur avyaktam vyaktam eva cha | axarañcha xarañchaiva sarvam otad mad-ātmakam | ye chāśrameshu vai dharmāś chaturdhā viditā mune | vaidikani cha sarvāṉi viddhi sarvam mad-ātmakam | asachcha sad-asachchaiva yad viśvaṁ sad-asat-param | mattaḥ parataraṁ nāsti deva-devāt sanātanāt | oṁkāra-pramukhān vedān viddhi māṁ tvam Bhṛigūdvaha | yūpaṁ somaṁ charuṁ homaṁ tridaśāpyāyanam makhe | hotāram api havyaṁcha viddhi mām Bhṛigu-nandana | adhvaryyuḥ kalpakasyāpi haviḥ parama-saṁskṛitam | udgātā chāpi māṁ stauti gīta-ghoshair mahādhvare | prāyaśchitteshu mām brahman śānti-maṇgala-vāchakāḥ | stuvanti viśvakarmāṉaṁ satataṁ dvija-sattama | mama viddhi sutaṁ dharmam agrajaṁ dvija-sattama | mānasaṁ dayitaṁ vipra sarva-bhūta-dayātmakam | tatrāhaṁ varttamānaiścha nirvṛittaiśchaiva mānavaiḥ | bahvīḥ saṁsaramāṉo vai yonīr varttāmi sattama | dharma-saṁraxaṉārthāya dharma-saṁsthāpanāya cha | tais tair veśaiś cha rūpaiś cha trishu lokeshu Bhārgava | ahaṁ Vishṉur aham Brahmā Sakro 'tha prabhavāvyayaḥ (āpyayaḥ ?)*[209] *| bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya srashṭā saṁhāra eva cha |*

[209] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under *apyaya*; and Udyoga-parva, v. 2569.

adharme varttamānānāṁ sarveshām aham achyutaḥ | dharmasya setum badhnāmi chalite chalite yuge | tās tā yonīḥ praviśyāham prajānāṁ hita-kāmyayā | yadā tv ahaṁ deva-yonau varttāmi Bhṛigu-nandana | tadā 'haṁ deva-vat sarvam ācharāmi na saṁśayaḥ | . . . 1582: Mānushye varttamāne tu kṛipaṇaṁ yāchitā mayā | na cha te jāta-sammohā vacho 'gṛihṇanta mohitāḥ | bhayañcha mahad uddiśya trāsitāḥ Kuravo mayā | kruddhena bhūtvā cha punar yathāvad anudarśitāḥ | te 'dharmeṇeha saṁyuktāḥ parītāḥ kāla-dharmaṇā | dharmeṇa nihatā yuddhe gatāḥ svargaṁ na saṁśayaḥ | . . . . Uttaṅga uvācha | abhijānāmi jagataḥ karttāraṁ tvāṁ Janārdana |

"Know that the qualities of darkness (*tamas*), passion (*rajas*), and goodness (*sattva*) have their abode in me. Know also that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. . . . . 1567 ff.: That which men call entity and nonentity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying,—all this consists of my essence. And know, o muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], are part of my nature. As regards nonentity, and that which is both entity and nonentity, and that which transcends both entity and nonentity,—know that [of all this] there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhṛigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by *oṁkāra*, the sacrificial post, the *soma*, the *charu*, the *homa*, the *tridaśāpyāyana* (that which satiates the immortals) in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the *hotṛi* (priest), and the *havya* (oblation). [I am] also the *adhvaryu* of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The *udgātṛi* celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, o excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. In his character I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Vishṇu, Brahmā, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. While all men live in un-

righteousness, I, the unfalling, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away. While entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures, whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my divine character." . . . . (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) 1582: "But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed, with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven."[210] On hearing this reply of Krishṇa, the sage Uttanga breaks out: "I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world," etc. Krishṇa then shews him his divine form.

VII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahādəva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 155 f., 162, 164), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishṇu (pp. 222–234). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 195, 204, 226, 231), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential

[210] See Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: *Āhave tu hataṁ śūraṁ na śocheta kathañchana | aśochyo hi hataḥ śūraḥ svarga-loke mahīyate | na hy annaṁ nodakaṁ tasya na snānaṁ nāpy aśauchakam | hatasya karttum ichhanti tasya lokān śriṇushva me | varāpsaraḥ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane hatam | tvaramāṇā 'bhidhāvanti "mama bharttā bhaved" iti |* "Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain, is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform ablutions, or [contract?] impurity [on his account]. Hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (*apsarases*) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.'" Professor Weber refers to this passage, Indische Studien, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representations about Hūris in the Coran. In the same way Krishṇa says to Jarāsandha (Sabhā-parva, v. 869): *Ko hi jānann abhijanaṁ ātmavān xatriyo nṛipaḥ | nāviśat svargam atulaṁ raṇānantaram avyayam | svargaṁ hy eva samāsthāya raṇa-yajñeshu dīxitāḥ | jayanti xatriyā lokāṁs tad viddhi manujarshabha | svarga-yonir mahad brahma svarga-yonir mahad yaśaḥ | svarga-yonis tapo yuddhe mṛityuḥ sa 'vyabhichāravān |* "For what Kshattriya king, who had a soul, and recognised his own kindred, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kshattriyas, consecrated in the sacrifice of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown; austerity (*tapas*) in fight, too, is the source of paradise such a death never fails of its reward."

oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims. Another passage of this description occurs in the Harivaṁśa, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Śiva had come to the assistance of Bāṇa and the Dānavas in their conflict with Kṛishṇa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Śiva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Śiva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called *jṛimbhana*, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with Śiva against his conflict with Kṛishṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Śiva perceiving by *yoga* (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Kṛishṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkandeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Śiva) in the form of Hari (Vishṇu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkandeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkandeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):

Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha | Śivāya Vishṇu-rūpāya Vishṇave Śiva-rūpiṇe | athāntaraṁ na paśyāmi tena te diśataḥ[211] *śivam | an-ādi-madhya-nidhanam etad akṣaram avyayam | tad eva te pravakṣyāmi rūpam Hari-Harātmakam | yo vai Vishṇuḥ sa vai Rudro yo Rudraḥ sa Pitāmahaḥ | ekā mūrttis trayo devā Rudra-Vishṇu-Pitāmahāḥ | varadā loka-karttāro loka-nāthāḥ svayambhuvaḥ | ardha-nārīśvarās te tu vrataṁ tīvraṁ samāśritāḥ | yathā jale jalaṁ kṣiptaṁ jalam eva tu tad bhavet | Rudraṁ Vishṇuḥ pravishṭas tu tathā Rudramayo bhavet | agnim agniḥ pravishṭas tu agnir eva yathā bhavet | tathā Vishṇum pravishṭas tu Rudro Vishṇumayo bhavet | Rudram agnimayaṁ vidyād Vishṇuḥ somātmakaḥ smṛitaḥ | agnīshomātmakaṁ chaiva jagat sthāvara-jaṅgamam | karttārau chāpahartārau sthāvarasya charasya cha | jagataḥ śubha-karttārau prabhū Vishṇu-Maheśvarau | karttṛi-kāraṇa-karttārau karttṛi-kāraṇa-kārakau | bhūta-*

[211] The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *darśitaḥ*.

bhavya-bhavau devau Nārāyaṇa-Maheśvarau | etau tau cha pravaktārāv etau tau cha prabhāmayau | jagataḥ pālakāv etāv etau sṛishṭikarau smṛitau | ete chaiva pravarshanti bhānti vānti sṛijanti cha | etat parataraṁ guhyaṁ kathitaṁ te Pitāmaha | yaś chainam pāṭhate nityaṁ yaś chainaṁ śriṇuyād naraḥ | prāpnoti paramaṁ sthānaṁ Rudra-Vishṇu-prasāda-jam | devau Hari-Harau stoshye Brahmaṇā saha saṅgatau | etau cha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāpyayau | Rudrasya paramo Vishṇur Vishṇoścha parāmaḥ Śivaḥ | eka eva dvidhā-bhūto loke charati nityaśaḥ | na vinā Saṅkaraṁ Vishṇur na vinā Keśavaṁ Śivaḥ | tasmād ekatvam āyātau Rudropendrau tu tau purā | ityādi

"When thou shewest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive thereby no difference between Śiva who exists in the form of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu who exists in the form of Śiva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Vishṇu and Mahādeva) combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Vishṇu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitāmaha (Brahmā): the substance (*mūrtti*) is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Vishṇu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Vishṇu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Vishṇu must possess the nature of Vishṇu. Rudra should be understood to possess the nature of fire; Vishṇu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the Moon); and the world moveable and immoveable possesses the nature of Agni and Soma. The lords, Vishṇu and Maheśvara, are the makers and destroyers of things moveable and immoveable, and the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara are the makers, causes, and makers, the makers, causes and causers, existing in the past, future, and present. And these two are the revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it, obtains the highest abode granted by the grace of Rudra and Vishṇu. I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahmā; and

these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the world. Vishṇu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and Śiva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishṇu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishṇu does not [exist] without Śankara, nor Śiva without Keśava: hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishṇu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

The various representations of Krishṇa given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the Mahābhārata there are some (see pp. 153 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahādeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Umā, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Krishṇa.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 170 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Śiśupāla, Duryodhana, Karṇa, and Śalya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yādava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognised by the Vaishnavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Krishṇa's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 200 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 206–216, where the achievements of Krishṇa are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognise a basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history)[212] underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Yādava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes. The

[212] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615.

supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Krishṇa himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Droṇa-parva, v. 402, and the Adi-parva, v. 8196, quoted in p. 209, and the Udyoga-parva, quoted in p. 213).

The identification of Arjuna and Krishṇa with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 192–206)[213] is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishṇu and Krishṇa, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Krishṇa,—when Arjuna the bosom friend of the latter would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyana); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Krishṇa and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Krishṇa is subordinated to Mahādeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 154, 156, 162). In another set of texts, however (pp. 222 ff.), Krishṇa, as Vishṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God,[214] while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 195, 204 f., 226, 231, 237). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Krishṇa, and that in another place Krishṇa is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

[213] In Boehtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *Nārāyaṇa* is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Purusha, the rishi of the Purusha-sūkta (R. V., x. 90). *Nara* is in the same work interpreted as the "primeval man."

[214] Even in the parts of the Vishṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 42 and 216 ff.) where Krishṇa is represented as a *partial* incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 42.

than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the Mahābhārata by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

It does not, I think, result from a comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Krishṇa, that the one class bears in its general complexion the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Saivas and Vaishṇavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Krishṇa plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahādeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 154–170, 194 f., and 227 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himālaya, p. 194 and and 227). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.[215]

Lassen remarks (i. 780), that in the epic poems the worship of Vishṇu is but seldom [216] mentioned—a fact which he regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of

[215] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i. pp. 562, 571, 610, 682, 711, 716, 741, and 781.

[216] Lassen (i. 679) refers to a passage of the Vana-parva (15283 ff.) where Duryodhana, being prevented from offering a rājasūya sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Vishṇu. This story will be quoted further on.

that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brāhmans and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrtha-yātrā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parva, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaranī river, in the country of the Kalingas:

Tatas Tripishṭapaṁ gachchhet trishu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraṇī puṇyā nadī pāpa-praṇāśinī | tatra snātvā 'rchayitvā cha Śūlapāṇiṁ Vṛishadhvajam | sarva-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachheta paramāṁ gatim |

"Let him then go to Tripishtapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaranī, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the trident and whose ensign is the bull (Mahādeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity."

At vv. 11001 of the same book it is said of the north bank of the same river:

Atraiva Rudro rājendra paśum ādattavān makho | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābravīt | hṛite paśau tadā devās tam ūchur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidrogdhā mā dharmān sakalān vaśīḥ | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpābhir vāgbhis te Rudram astuvan | iṣhṭyā chainaṁ tarpayitvā mānayāñchakrire tadā | tataḥ sa paśum utsṛijya devā-yānena jagmivān | tatrānuvaṁśo Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhishṭhira | ayātayāmaṁ sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devāḥ saṅkalpayāmāsur bhayād Rudrasya śāśvatam | imāṁ gāthām atra gāyann apaḥ spṛiśati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'sya panthāś cha chaxushā 'bhiprakāśate |

"In this very place, o king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, 'This is [my] portion.' When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, 'Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.' They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhishthira: 'Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all portions, the *ayātayāma* (or fresh portion). The man

who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods.'"

In the same Vana-parva, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarṇa, on the west coast of the Dekhan:

Atha Gokarṇam āsādya trishu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-madhye rājendra sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | yatra Brahmādayo devā ṛishayaś cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . . 8169: Saritaḥ sāgarāḥ śailā upāsanta Umā-patim | ityādi | "Then having reached Gokarṇa, renowned in the three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahmā and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity," [various other kinds of beings are here enumerated, *Bhūtas, Yaxas*, etc. etc.], "rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā (Mahādeva)."

The same place is also mentioned in the Vana-parva, v. 15999 f.:

Trikūṭaṁ samatikramya Kālaparvatam eva cha | dadarśa makarāvāsaṁ gambhīrodam mahodadhim | tam atītyātha Gokarṇam abhyagachhat Daśānanaḥ | dayitaṁ sthānam avyagraṁ Śūlapāṇer mahātmanaḥ | "Having passed Trikūta, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvaṇa) saw the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he then approached Gokarṇa, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty wielder of the trident."

[The same Tīrtha-yātrā, however, contains the following passage celebrating Krishṇa:

Vana-parva, v. 8349 f.—*Puṇyā Dvāravatī tatra yatrāsau Madhusūdanaḥ | sākṣād devaḥ purāṇo 'sau sa hi dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | ye cha veda-vido viprā ye chādhyātma-vido janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmānaṁ Kṛishṇaṁ dharmaṁ sanātanam | pavitrāṇāṁ hi Govindaḥ pavitram param uchyate | puṇyānām api puṇyo 'sau maṅgalānāṁ cha maṅgalam | trailokye Puṇḍarīkākṣo deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | avyayātmā vyayātmā cha xetrajñaḥ parameśvaraḥ | āste Harir achintyātmā tatraiva Madhusūdanaḥ |* "There is the holy Dvāravatī where that Madhusūdana [abides], that manifest, ancient god; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brahmans who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty Krishṇa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods, the undecaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of

the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides."]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem:

Ādi-parva, v. 7049.—*Evaṁ teshāṁ vilapatāṁ viprāṇāṁ vividhā giraḥ | Arjuno dhanusho 'bhyāse tasthau girir ivāchalaḥ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradakṣiṇam athākarot | praṇamya śirasā devam Īśāṇaṁ varadam prabhum | Kṛishṇaṁ cha manasā kṛitvā jagṛihe chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivaiḥ Rukmi-Sunītha-Vaktraiḥ Rādheya-Duryodhana-Śalya-Śālvaiḥ | tadā dhanur-veda-parair nṛisiṁhaiḥ kṛitaṁ na sajyam mahato 'pi yatnāt | tad Arjunaḥ ityādi* | "While the Brahmans thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Iśāna (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Krishṇa,[217] Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunītha (Śiśupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, Śalya, and Śālva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark," etc. etc.

In the Vana-parvā, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhīshma and released at the request of Yudhishṭhira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):

Jagāma rājan duḥkhārtto Gaṅgādvārāya Bhārata | sa devaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā virūpāxam Umāpatiṁ | tapaś chachāra vipulaṁ tasya prīto Vṛishadhvajaḥ | baliṁ svayam pratyagṛihṇāt prīyamāṇas Trilochanaḥ | varaṁ chāsmai dadau devaḥ sa jagrāha cha tach chhriyu | "Samastān sarathān pañcha jayeyaṁ yudhi Pāṇḍavān" | iti rājā 'bravid devaṁ neti devas tam abravīt | ajayyāṁś chāpy abadhyāṁś cha vārayishyasi tān yudhi | ṛite 'rjunam mahābāhuṁ Naraṁ nāma sureśvaram | Vadaryyāṁ tapta-tapasaṁ Nārāyaṇa-sahāyakam | ajitaṁ sarva-lokānāṁ devair api durāsadam | mayā dattam pāśupataṁ divyam apratimaṁ śaram | avāpa lokapālebhyo vajrādīn sa mahāśarān | deva-devo hy anantātmā Vishṇuḥ sura-guruḥ prabhuḥ | pradhāna-purusho 'vyaktaḥ viśvātmā viśva-mūrttimān | yugāntakāle samprāpte kālāgnir dahate jagat | sa-parvatārṇava-dvīpaṁ sa-śaila-vana-kānanam |

"He went, o king, distressed with grief, to Gangādvāra (Haridvāra).

[217] Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i. 646) regards this reference to Krishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.

There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jayadratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāndavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṇa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāśupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Vishṇu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Purusha), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests." Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Vishṇu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Vishṇu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Santi-parva also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (*toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśuñ chāti-tejasam | sa tenākuṇṭha-dhāreṇa jvalitānala-varchasā | kuṭhāreṇāprameyeṇa lokeshv apratimo 'bhavat |*). Then follows the story of Kārttavīrya.

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhisthira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Krishṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parva, v. 626.—*Na tu śakyañ Jarāsandhe jīvamāne mahābale | rājasūyañ tvayā 'vāptum eshā rājan matir mama | tena ruddhā hi rājā-*

naḥ sarve jitvā Girivraje | kandare parvatendrasya siṁheneva mahādvipāḥ | sa hi rājā Jarāsandho yiyaxur vasudhādhipaiḥ | Mahādevam mahātmānam Umāpatim arindama | ārādhya tapasogreṇa nirjitās tena pārthivāḥ | pratijñāyāś cha pāraṁ sa gataḥ pārthiva-sattamaḥ | sa hi nirjitya nirjitya pārthivān pṛitanāgatān | puram ānīya baddhvā cha chakāra purusha-vrajam | vayaṁ chaiva mahārāja Jarāsandha-bhayāt tadā | Mathurāṁ samparityajya gatā Dvāravatīm purīm |

"But whilst the powerful Jarāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā, with these kings as victims, and they were conquered by him after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and made them a human herd. And we too," (confesses Krishṇa) "from dread of Jarāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dvāravatī."

Krishṇa returns, a little further on, to Jarāsandha's cruelty to the kings:

Sabhā-parva, v. 653.—*Ratna-bhājo hi rājāno Jarāsandham upāsate | na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitaḥ | mūrdhābhishiktaṁ nṛipatim pradhāna-purusho balāt | ādatte na cha no dṛishṭo 'bhāgaḥ purushataḥ kvachit | evaṁ sarvān vaśe chakre Jarāsandhaḥ śatāvarān | taṁ durbala-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaishyati | proxitānām pramṛishṭānām*[218] *rājñām Paśupater gṛihe | paśūnām iva kā prītir jīvite Bharatarshabha |* "For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāsandha; and yet he is not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and no mortal that we see is more wretched than such a man. In this manner Jarāsandha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been devoted to slaughter and designated as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?"

[218] The commentator's remark on this is as follows: *Pramṛishṭānām | Rudra-daivatyo 'yam iti pratyekam abhimṛishṭānām |*

Krishṇa afterwards proceeds to Jarāsandha's capital with Bhīma and Arjuna, with the view of slaying their enemy. They are admitted to his palace in the disguise of Brahmans, and after some conversation, Krishṇa says to Jarāsandha:

Sabhā-parva, vv. 861 ff. — *Tvayā chopahṛitā rājan xatriyā loka-vāsinaḥ | tad āgaḥ krūram utpādya manyase kim anāgasam | rājā rājñaḥ kathaṁ sādhūn hiṁsyān nṛipati-sattama | yad rājñaḥ sannigṛihya tvaṁ Rudrāyopajihīrshasi | asmāṁs tad enopagachchhet kṛitaṁ Vārhadratha tvayā | vayaṁ hi śaktā dharmasya raxaṇe dharma-chāriṇaḥ | manushyāṇāṁ samālambho na cha dṛishṭaḥ kadāchana | sa katham mānushair devaṁ yashṭum ichhasi Saṅkaram | savarṇo hi savarṇānām*[219] *paśu-saṁjñāṁ karishyasi | ko 'nya evaṁ yathā hi tvaṁ Jarāsandha vṛithā-matiḥ | yasyāṁ yasyām avasthāyāṁ yat yat karma karoti yaḥ | tasyāṁ tasyām avasthāyāṁ tat-phalaṁ samavāpnuyāt | te tvāṁ jñāti-xaya-karaṁ vayam ārttānusāriṇaḥ | jñāti-vṛiddhi-nimittārthaṁ vinihantum ihāgatāḥ | . . . . Jarāsandha uvācha . . . . 882: Devatārtham upāhṛitya rājñaḥ Kṛishṇa katham bhayāt | aham adya vimuchyeyaṁ xātraṁ vratam anusmaran |*

"Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kshattriyas dwellers in this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thyself as guiltless? How should a king injure virtuous kings? Inasmuch as thou hast confined kings, and seekest to offer them up to Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛihadratha, will attach to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect righteousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god Śaṅkara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those princes], wilt designate as victims men of thine own tribe. What other person, Jarāsandha, is so foolish as thou? Whosoever, in any condition, perpetrates any particular act will reap the fruit of it in that particular condition. We, the avengers of the afflicted, seeking the welfare of our kindred, have come hither to slay thee, the destroyer of thy kindred." Krishṇa, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to

[219] On this the commentator remarks: *Nanu "Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabheta" ityādinā sarva-jātīyānāṁ sarva-karmaṇāṁ manushyāṇām ālambho devatārtham badhaḥ śrūyate ity āśaṅkya āha savarṇo hi iti* | "But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, 'let him immolate a Brāhmana to Brahman,' etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, 'For thou, belonging to the same tribe,' etc.

liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Krishṇa, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshattriya, to-day release them from fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-parva; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rāxasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715) and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed, who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rāxasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

Jarā-nāmā 'smi bhadraṁ te Rāxasī kāma-rūpiṇī | tava veśmani rājendra pūjitā nyavasaṁ sukham | gṛihe gṛihe manushyāṇāṁ nityaṁ tishṭhāmi rāxasī | gṛiha-devīti nāmnā vai purā sṛishṭā Svayaṁbhuvā | dānavānāṁ vināśāya sthāpitā divya-rūpiṇī | yo mām bhaktyā likhet kuṇḍye saputtrāṁ yauvanānvitām | gṛihe tasya bhaved vṛiddhir anyathā xayam āpnuyāt | tvad-gṛihe tishṭhamānā tu pūjitā 'haṁ sadā vibho | likhitā chaiva kuṇḍye 'ham putrair bahubhir āvṛitā | gandha-pushpais tathā dhūpair bhaxyair bhojyaiḥ supūjitā | sā 'ham pratyupakārārthaṁ chintayamy aniśaṁ tava | tavemc puttra-śakale dṛishṭavaty asmi dhārmika | saṁśleshite mayā daivāt kumāraḥ samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārāja hetu-mātram ahaṁ tv iha | Merum vā khādituṁ śaktā kim punas tava bālakam | gṛiha-sampūjanāt tushṭyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |

"I am, bless thee, a Rāxasī named Jarā, who can change my shape at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dānavas. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, o king, and continually reverenced, painted upon

the wall, surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, o great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee."

The Rākṣasī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy *Jarāsandha* because he had been *put together* (*sandhitaḥ*) by the Rākṣasī *Jarā* (v. 738: *Ājñāpayach cha rākṣasyā Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroch chaiva Pitāmaha-samaḥ pitā | Jarayā sandhito yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavatv ayam |*). The rishi Chaṇḍakauśika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhas, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādēva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753: *Esha Rudram Mahādevaṁ tripurānta-karaṁ Haram | sarva-lokeshv ati-balo sākṣād draxyati Māgadhaḥ |*).

The description here given by the Rākṣasī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhishthira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Krishṇa; and this legendary narrative may perhaps be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishṇu, and opposed to the worship of Mahādeva. In the story of Śiśupāla, which has been given above (pp. 171 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Krishṇa's claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who, on this point at least, took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by Śiśupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and according to Lassen,[220] a representative of the Śaiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Krishṇa was, as I have already

[220] See above, p. 176, note 160.

noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karṇa, and Śalya, (pp. 180, 182, 184, 185, etc.).

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 240, note 216) to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Vishṇu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parva, 15274 ff., Karṇa, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice. Karṇa replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (purohita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishthira lives, and while his own father, Dhritarāshtra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

Asti tv anyad mahat satraṁ rājasūya-samam prabho | tena tvaṁ yaja rājendra śṛiṇu chedaṁ vacho mama | ye ime pṛithivī-pālāḥ kara-dās tava pārthiva | te karān samprayachhantu suvarṇañcha kṛitākṛitam | tena te kriyatām adya lāṅgalaṁ nṛipa-sattama | yajña-rāṭasya te bhūmiḥ kṛishyatāṁ tena Bhārata | tatra yajño nṛipa-śreshṭha prabhūtānnaḥ susaṁskṛitaḥ | pravarttatāṁ yathānyāyaṁ sarvato hy anivāritaḥ | esha te Vaishṇavo nāma yajñaḥ satpurushochitaḥ | etena neshṭavān kaśchid ṛite Vishṇum purātanam | rāja-sūyaṁ kratu-śreshṭhaṁ spardhaty esha mahākratuḥ | "But there is another great ceremonial equal to the *rājasūya*, with which, o great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and unwrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the ground of thy sacrificial enclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice, well-arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaishnava sacrifice (the sacrifice of Vishṇu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men.[221] With it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Vishṇu. This great ceremonial rivals the *rājasūya*, the most excellent of sacrifices."

[221] It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 f.), and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some ill-natured persons said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good as Yudhishṭhira's Rājasūya sacrifice, while his friends said that this sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, Māndhātṛi, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in consequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): *Apare tv abruvans tatra vātikās tam mahīpatim | Yudhishṭhirasya yajñena na samo hy esha te kratuḥ | naiva tasya krator esha (?) kalām arhati shoḍaśīm | evaṁ tatrābruvan kechid vātikās taṁ janeśvaram | suhṛidas tv abruvans tatra ati sarvān ayaṁ kratur ityādi |*

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Duryodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a passage in the Karṇa-parva, quoted above, pp. 187 ff., (which, however, I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva's prowess, and in which Vishṇu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to be heretically disposed) with a Rākshasa named Chārvāka, and is represented as his friend (Śānti-parva, 1414–1442), and as calling him to mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that if once informed of his fate, Chārvāka would perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samantapanchaka.[222]

In his Indische Studien, i. 206, Professor Weber conjectures that "the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra-, or Śiva-worship, and the Pandus or Panchālas of the Indra- (?) or Vishṇu-worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the considerations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sabhā-parva, (where Krishṇa is

[222] Śalya-parva, 3619. See both passages translated in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix. pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other passage in the Mahābhārata in which the connection of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka (who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics of that name) is more explicitly described; though from the two passages above adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana's connexion with him. Possibly such passages may have existed, and have been struck out as dangerous to the cause of Brahmanical orthodoxy.

describing to Yudhishthira the different partisans of Jarâsandha) appears as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Vishṇu, and that of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

Jarâsandhaṁ gatas tv eva purâ yo na mayâ hataḥ | Purushottama-vijñâto yo 'sau Chedishu durmatiḥ | âtmânam pratijânâti loke 'smin Purushottamam | âdatte satatam mohâd yaḥ sa chihnaṁ cha mâmakam | Vaṅga-Puṇḍra-Kirâteshu râjâ bala-samanvitaḥ | Pauṇḍrako Vâsudeveti yo 'sau loke 'bhiviśrutaḥ | "And he who formerly was not slain by me, has also taken the side of Jarâsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world professes himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually assumes my mark—he who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Pundras, and Kirâtas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vâsudeva of the Pundras.[223]

[223] On this Lassen remarks (i. 608): "Since these (Purushottama and Vâsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishṇu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Arian origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishṇu."

CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHADEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, AND THE BRAHMANAS.

In the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Krishṇa's character, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purāṇas. I have thus found it necessary to anticipate much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmaṇas, and to compare the representation which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

SECT. I.—*Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

In the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R. V. i. 27, 10 (S. V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—*Jarābodha tad viviḍḍhi viśe viśe yajñiyāya stomaṁ rudrāya dṛśīkam* | "Thou who art skilled in

praise, utter therefore for every tribe, a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni)." In connection with this verse, Yāska remarks:

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—*Agnir api rudra uchyate | tasyaishā bhavati . . . jarā stutiḥ | jarateḥ stuti-karmaṇaḥ | tām bodha tayā bodhayitar iti vā | tad vividdhi tat kuru manushyasya manushyasya yajanāya stomaṁ Rudrāya darśanīyam* | "Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse (the one before us). *Jarā* means 'praise.' One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is *jarābodha*. Compose that for the worship of every man,—a sightly hymn for the terrible." Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that *rudra* in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole *ṛicha* or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R.V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R.V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Aśvins, respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatīrtha the following short *itihāsa* in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: *Agniḥ stūyamānaḥ Śunaḥśepham uvācha "Rudraṁ stuhi raudrā hi paśavaḥ" iti | Sa tam pratyuvācha "nāhaṁ jānāmi Rudraṁ stotuṁ tvam evaitaṁ stuhi" iti tad idam uchyate "He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat kuru" ityādi* | "Agni, when he was being praised, said to Śunaḥśepha, 'Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.' He (Śunaḥśepha) answered, 'I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.' It is this which is here expressed, 'O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.'"

R. V. i. 43, 1 ff.—*Kad Rudrāya prachetase mīḷhushṭamāya tavyase | vochema śantamaṁ hṛide | 2. Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśve nṛibhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam | 3. Yathā no Mitro Varuṇo yathā Rudraś chiketati | yathā viśve sajoshasaḥ | 4. Gātha-patim medha-patiṁ Rudraṁ jalāsha-bheshajam | tat śaṁyoḥ sumnam īmahe | 5. Yaḥ śukra iva sūryo hiraṇyam iva rochate | śreshṭho devānāṁ vasuḥ | 6. Saṁ naḥ karaty arvate sugam meshāya meshye | nṛibhyo nāribhyo gave* | "What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuṇa, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who

is the best and the brightest of the gods. 6. He grants prosperity and welfare to our horses, rams, ewes, men, women, and cows."

R. V. i. 64, 2—*Te jajñire diva ṛishvāsa uxaṇo Rudrasya maryā asurā arepasaḥ | pāvakāsaḥ śuchayaḥ sūryā iva sātvāno na drapsino ghoravarpasaḥ | 3. Yuwāno Rudrā ajarā abhogghano vavaxur adhrigāvaḥ parvatā iva | dṛiḷha chid viśvā bhuvanāni pārthivā prachyāvayanti divyāni majmanā | . . . . 12. Ghṛishum pāvakaṁ vaninaṁ vicharshaṇiṁ Rudrasya sūnuṁ havasā gṛiṇīmasi | rajasturaṁ tavasam mārutaṁ gaṇam ṛiṭṭishiṇaṁ vṛishaṇaṁ saśchata śriye |* "These sons of Rudra have been produced from the sky, exalted, fertilizing, spiritual, sinless, purifiers, bright as suns, resembling spirits, shedding water, fearful in form. 3. The youthful Rudras, undecaying, destroyers of the impious, resistless, [firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power they cast down all the firm terrestrial and celestial worlds. . . . . 12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing, all-beholding offspring of Rudra. To obtain prosperity, worship the dust-chasing host of Maruts, vigorous, impetuous, and fertilizing."

R. V. i. 85, 1.—*Pra ye śumbhante janayo na saptayo yāman Rudrasya sūnavaḥ sudaṁsasaḥ | rodasī hi marutuś chakrire vṛidhe madanti vīrā vidatheshu ghṛishvayaḥ |* "The Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra, who when moving in their course, are brightly arrayed like women, have made the two worlds to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices."

R. V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 16, 48).—*Imā Rudrāya tavase kapardḍine*[224] *xayad-vīrāya prabharāmahe matīḥ | yathā śam asad dvipade chatushpade viśvam pushṭaṁ grāme asminn anāturam | 2. Mṛiḷā no*

[224] *Kapardḍin* is also an epithet of Pūshan in R. V. vi. 55, 2: *Rathītamaṁ kapardḍinam īśānaṁ rādhaso mahaḥ | rāyaḥ sakhāyam īmahe |* "We invoke the possessor of a great chariot, adorned with braided hair, the lord of great power, the friend of wealth." And also in R.V. ix. 67, 10, 11: *Avitā no ajāśvaḥ Pūshā gāmani yāmani | ābhaxat kanyāsu naḥ | 11. Ayaṁ somaḥ kapardḍine ghṛitaṁ na pavate madhu | ā bhaxat kanyāsu naḥ |* "Pūshan, who has goats for steeds, is our protector on every journey. May he give us a share of damsels. 11. This soma is purified for the god with braided hair, like sweet butter. May he give us a share of damsels." The word is also applied to the Tṛitsus in R. V. vii. 83, 8. . . . . *Sviṭyañcho yatra namasā kapardḍino dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta Tṛitsavaḥ | . . . .* "Where the white-robed Tṛitsus with braided hair have worshipped you with obeisances and prayers." With this compare *daxiṇatas-kapardḍāḥ* in R. V. vii. 33, 1. The word *Karpardḍin* also occurs in R. V. x. 102, 8.

Rudra uta no mayas kṛidhi kayad-vīrāya namasā vidhema te | yat śaṁ cha yoścha Manur ā yeje pitā tad aśyāma tava Rudra praṇītishu | 3. Aśyāma te sumatiṁ deva-yajyayā kayad-vīrasya tava Rudra mīḍhvaḥ | sumnāyann id viśo asmākam ādhara arishṭa-vīrā juhavāma te haviḥ | 4. Tveshaṁ vayaṁ Rudraṁ yajña-sādhaṁ vaṇkuṁ kavim akase nihvayāmahe | āre asmad daivyaṁ heḷo asyatu sumatim id vayam asya ā vṛiṇīmahe | 5. Divo varāham arushaṁ kapardinaṁ tveshaṁ rūpaṁ namasā nihvayāmahe | haste bibhrad bheshajā vāryāṇi śarma varma ohhardir asmabhyaṁ yaṁsat | 6. Idam pitre Marutām uchyate vachaḥ svādoḥ svādīyo Rudrāya vardhanam | rāsvā cha no amṛita martta-bhojanaṁ tmane tokāya tanayāya mṛiḷa | 7. (V. S. 16, 15=A. V. ii. 2, 29). Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā na uxantam uta mā na uxitam | mā no badhīḥ pitaram mota mātaram mā naḥ priyās tanvo Rudra rīrishaḥ | 8. (V. S. 16, 16) Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau mā no goshu mā no aśveshu rīrishaḥ | vīrān mā no bhāmito badhīr havishmantaḥ sadam it tvā havāmahe | 9. Upa te stomān paśu-pā ivākaram rāsvā pitar Marutāṁ sumnam asme | bhadrā hi te sumatir mṛiḷayattamā athā vayam avaḥ it te vṛiṇīmahe | 10. Āre te go-ghnam uta pūrusha-ghnam kayad-vīra sumnam asme te astu | mṛiḷā cha no adhi cha brūhi deva adhā cha naḥ śarma yachha dvi-barhāḥ | 11. Avochāma namo asmā avasyavaḥ sṛiṇotu no havaṁ Rudro marutvān | tan no Mitro Varuṇo māmahantām Aditiḥ sindhuḥ pṛithivī uta dyauḥ |

"We present these prayers to Rudra, the strong, with braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to the two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu has earned by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our worship of the gods obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our warriors unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fulfiller of sacrifice, the crooked-goer, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeisance the dark-hued celestial boar (cloud?), with braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us

protection, defence, shelter. 6. This magnifying hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, o immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men, nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our warriors in thine anger: we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. Like a keeper of cattle I have prepared for thee hymns: bestow on us your favour, o father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy sympathy be with us. Be gracious to us, o god, and intercede for us, and bestow on us prosperity, lord of both worlds. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, grant us this."

In Sāyana's annotations on the 6th verse, he quotes the following modern story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

Rudrasya Marutām pitṛitvam evam ākhyāyate | purā kadāchid Indro 'surān jigāya | tadānīm Ditir Asura-māṭā Indra-hanana-samartham putraṁ kāmayamānā tapasā bharttuḥ sakāśād garbhaṁ lebhe | imaṁ vṛittāntam avagachhann Indro vajra-hastaḥ san sūxma-rūpo bhūtvā tasyā udaram praviśya taṁ garbhaṁ saptadhā bibheda | punar apy ekaikaṁ sapta-khaṇḍam akarot | te sarve garbhaika-deśā yoner nirgatyārudan | etasminn avasare līlārthaṁ gachhantau Pārvatī-parameśvarāv imān dadṛiśatuḥ | Maheśam prati Pārvaty evam avochat | "ime māṁsa-khaṇḍā yathā pratyekam putrāḥ sampadyantām evaṁ tvayā kāryyam mayi chet prītir asti" iti | sa cha Maheśvaras tān samāna-rūpān samāna-vayasaḥ samānālaṅkārān putrān kṛitvā Gauryyai pradadau "taveme putrāḥ santu" iti | ataḥ sarveshu Māruteshu sūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putrā iti stūyante Raudreshu cha Marutām pitā Rudra iti |

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras. Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be able

to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband. Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute form, with a thunderbolt in his hand, divided her fœtus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being parts of the fœtus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Parameśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Parameśvara, 'If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally sons.' Maheśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaurī (Pārvatī), saying, 'Let these be thy sons.' Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts, they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he is praised as the father of the Maruts."

R. V. i. 122, 1.—*Pra vaḥ pāntaṁ raghu-manyavo 'ndho yajñaṁ Rudrāya mīḷhushe bharadhvam | divo astoshi asurasya vīrair ishudhyā iva Maruto rodasyoḥ* | "Present, ye mild-tempered priests, to the bountiful Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. The praise of the divine Marut is celebrated in heaven and earth."

R. V. i. 129, 3.—*Dasmo hi shmā vṛishaṇam pinvasi tvachaṁ kaṁ chid yāvīr araruṁ śūra marttyam parivṛiṇaxi marttyam | Indrota tubhyaṁ tad dive tad Rudrāya sva-yaśase | Mitrāya vochaṁ Varuṇāya sapratháḥ sumṛiḷīkāya saprathaḥ* | "Thou, who art energetic, causest the teeming skin (the cloud) to be expanded: thou, hero, hast chased away every hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have uttered this at length to thee, and to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuṇa, at length to the very bountiful."

R. V. ii. 1, 6.—*Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvaṁ śardho mārutam pṛixa īśishe | tvaṁ vātair aruṇair yāsi śaṁgayas tvam Pūshā vidhataḥ pāsi nu 'tmanā* | "Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the deity (*asura*) of the great sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord of the sacrificial food. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest those who worship thee."

See above (p. 66) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishṇu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pūshan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7.

Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra:

Rud duḥkhaṁ duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvayitā etan-nāmako devo'si | "Rudro vā esha yad Agnir" ity ādishv Agneḥ Rudra-śabdena vyavahārāt | yadvā tvaṁ Rudraḥ | rauti | mām anishṭvā narā duḥkhe patishyanti | Rudras tādṛiśo 'si | "*Rut* means suffering, or sin, etc., which causes suffering. Thou art the god so called, who drives this away (*Rud-drāvayitā*); for Agni is commonly expressed by the word Rudra in such passages as this, 'He who is Agni is Rudra.' Or, thou art Rudra. He cries. Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra," etc.

R. V. ii. 33, 1 ff.—*Ā te pitar Marutāṁ sumnam etu mā naḥ sūryasya saṁdṛiśo yuyothāḥ | abhi no vīro arvati xamèta pra jāyemahi Rudra prajābhiḥ | 2. Tvā-dattebhī Rudra śaṁtamebhiḥ śataṁ himā aśīya bheshajebhiḥ | vi asmad dvesho vitaraṁ vi aṁho vi amīvāś chātayasvā vishūchīḥ | 3. Śreshṭho jātasya Rudra śriyā 'si tavastamas tavasāṁ vajra-bāho | parshi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ svasti viśvā abhītīḥ rapaso yuyodhi | 4. Mā tvā Rudra chukrudhāmā namobhir mā dushṭutī vṛishabha mā sahūtī | ud no vīrān arpaya bheshajebhir bhishaktamaṁ tvā bhishajāṁ śṛiṇomi | 5. Havīmabhir havate yo havirbhir ava stomebhī Rudraṁ dishīya | ṛidūdaraḥ suhavo mā no asyai babhruḥ suśipro rīradhad manāyai | 6. Ud mā mamanda vṛishabho marutvān tvaxīyasā vayasā nādhamānam | ghṛiṇīva chhāyām arapā aśīya ā vivāseyaṁ Rudrasya sumnam | 7. Ḳva sya te Rudrā mṛiḷayākur hasto yo asti bheshajo jalāshaḥ | apabharttā rapaso daivyasya abhī nu mā vṛishabha chaxamīthāḥ | 8. Pra babhrave vṛishabhāya śvitīche maho mahīṁ sushṭutim īrayāmi | namasyā kalmalīkinaṁ namobhir gṛiṇīmasi tveshaṁ Rudrasya nāma*[225] *9. Sthirebhir aṅgair puru-rūpa ugro babhruḥ śukrebhiḥ pipiśe hiraṇyaiḥ | īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer na vā u yoshad Rudrād asuryam | 10. Arhan bibharshi sāyakānī dhanwa arhan nishkaṁ yajataṁ viśva-rūpam | arhann idaṁ dayase viśvam abhvaṁ na vā ojīyo Rudrā tvad asti | 11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40). Stuhi śrutaṁ gartta-sadaṁ yuvānam mṛigaṁ na bhīmam*[226] *upahatnum ugram | mṛiḷā jaritre Rudra stavāno anyaṁ te asmad ni vapantu senāḥ | 12. Kumāras*

[225] Compare R. V. vii. 100, 3, above, p. 76.

[226] Compare above similar modes of speaking about Vishṇu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., p. 59.

ohit pitarañ vandamānam prati nānāma Rudra upayantam | bhūrer dātārañ satpatiñ gṛiṇīshe stutas tvam bheshajā rāsi asme | 13. Yā vo bheshajā Marutaḥ śuchīni yā śañtamā vṛishaṇo yā mayobhu | yāni Manur avṛiṇītā pitā nas tā śañ cha yoścha Rudrasya vaśmi | 14 (V. S. 16, 50). Pari no hetiḥ Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ pari tveshasya durmatir mahī gāt | ava sthirā maghavadbhyas tanushva mīḍhvas tokāya tanayāya mṛiḷa | 15. Evā babhro vṛishabha chekitāna yathā deva na hṛiṇīshe na haṅsi | havana-śrud no Rudra iha bodhi bṛihad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ |

"1. Father of the Maruts, may kindness come from thee: remove us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses: may we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away far from us enmity, and sin, and divers diseases. 3. Thou, Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the strong, o wielder of the thunderbolt. Thou carriest us happily across our sin: repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity], or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies: I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I with hymns propitiate that Rudra who is invoked with praises and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this will [of our enemies]. 6. The mighty [god] attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his suppliant with invigorating nourishment. May I free from injury obtain [thy protection], as it were, shade from the heat [of the summer]: may I seek the favour of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious hand which is healing and restorative, removing the evil which comes from the gods? Forgive me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I send forth an exceedingly great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, fair-complexioned god. Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations: we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. Firm of limb, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been invested with bright golden ornaments.[227] Divine power is ever inseparable from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, governing, holdest arrows and a bow; governing, thou [holdest] a glorious bracelet of every form. Governing, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful

[227] See *śukra-piś*, Nir. viii. 11 = R. V. x. 110, 6; and Roth Erl.

god, mounted on his chariot, like a terrible wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised: may thy hosts destroy some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] o Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of the excellent. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are auspicious, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu wished—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the fiery [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong bows [so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. Tawny and vigorous, intelligent god, Rudra, listen to our invocations in such wise, that thou neither frownest at us, nor injurest us; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—*Dyāvo na stṛibhiś chitayanta khādino vi abhriyā na dyutayanta vṛishṭayaḥ | Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vakaso vṛishā'jani priśnyāḥ śukra ūdhani* | "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, o Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Pṛiśni."

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—*Na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ | na arātayas tam idaṁ svasti huve devaṁ Savitāraṁ namobhiḥ* | "With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitṛi, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist."

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—*Agniṁ sumnāya dadhire puro janā vāja-śravasam iha vṛikta-barhishaḥ | yata-sruchaḥ suruchaṁ viśva-devyaṁ rudraṁ yajñānāṁ sādhad-ishṭim apasām* | "Men, having spread the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his favour, placed in their front Agni, the bestower of food, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (*rudra*), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites."

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—*Ā vo rājānam adhvarasya rudraṁ hotāraṁ satya-yajaṁ rodasyoḥ | Agnim purā tanayitnor achittād hiraṇya-rūpam avase kṛiṇudhvam* | 6. *Kad dhishṇyāsu vṛidhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratavase*

śubhaṁye | parijmane nāsatyāya ṛe bravaḥ kad Agne Rudrāya nṛi-ghne | 7. (quoted above, pp. 67, 68). "Before the thunderbolt [falls] unawares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (*rudra*) king of the sacrifice, the invoker of both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed. . . . 6. How, Agni, wilt thou, who growest in the places of oblation, how wilt thou declare [our sin] to Vāta, the energetic, the bestower of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful, how wilt thou declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?"

R. V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, pp. 68, 69.

R. V. v. 41, 2.—*Te no Mitro Varuṇo Aryamā "yur Indra Ṛibhuxā Maruto jushanta | namobhir vā ye dadhate suvṛiktiṁ stomaṁ Rudrāya mīḷhushe sajoshāḥ |* "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ribhuxan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra."

R. V. v. 42, 11.—*Tam u shtuhi yaḥ svishuḥ sudhanvā yo viśvasya xayati bheshajasya | yaxvā mahe saumanasāya Rudraṁ namobhir devam asuraṁ duvasya | . . . . 15. Esha stomo mārutaṁ śardho achhā Rudrasya sūnūn yuvanyūn ud aśyāḥ | ityādi |* "Praise him who has excellent arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [obtain his] great benevolence: with prostrations adore the spiritual deity. . . . . 15. May this hymn reach the troop of Maruts, and ascend to the youthful sons of Rudra," etc. etc.

R. V. v. 46, 2 (V. S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 69.

R. V. v. 51, 13.—*Viśve devā no adya svastaye vaiśvānaro vasur*[228] *Agniḥ svastaye | devā avantu Ṛibhavaḥ svastaye svasti no Rudraḥ pātu aṁhasaḥ |* "May all the gods, may Agni the *Vasu* common to all men, may the divine Ribhus preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless and preserve us from sin."

R. V. v. 52, 16.—*Pra ye me bandhveshe gāṁ vochanta sūrayaḥ pṛiśniṁ vochanta mātaram | adhā pitaram ishmiṇaṁ Rudraṁ vochanta śikvasaḥ |* "These wise and powerful [Maruts] who, when I was seeking with my friends, declared to me that the Earth, Pṛiśni, was their mother, and that the rapid Rudra was their father."

R. V. v. 59, 8—*Mimātu dyaur Aditir vītaye naḥ saṁ dānu-chitrā ushaso yatantām | āchuchyavur divyaṁ kośam ete ṛishe Rudrasya Maruto*

[228] See Nirukta, vii. 22 ff.; and xii. 41, 42.

gṛiṇānāḥ | "May the Sky and Aditi work for our enjoyment: may the dawns glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudra, when lauded, o rishi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down."

R. V. v. 60, 5.—*Ajyeshṭhāso akanishṭhāsa ete sam bhrātaro vāvṛidhuḥ saubhagāya | yuvā pitā svapā Rudra eshām sudughā Pṛiśniḥ sudinā Marudbhyaḥ* | "These brothers (the Maruts) among whom there is no distinction of elder and younger, have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Pṛiśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts."

R. V. vi. 16, 39.—*Ya ugra iva śarya-hā tigma-śṛingo na vaṃsa-gaḥ | Agne puro rurojitha* | "Thou, Agni, who art fierce (*ugra*), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down cities."

On this the commentator remarks: "*Rudro vā esha yad Agnir*" *iti śruteḥ | Rudra-kṛitam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kṛitam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate* | "For the Veda says that 'this Agni is Rudra.' It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni." Another explanation is that Agni was present in Rudra's arrow on that occasion.

R. V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—*Prajāvatīḥ sūyavasaṃ riśantīḥ śuddhā apaḥ suprapāṇe pibantīḥ | mā vaḥ stena īśata mā 'ghaśaṃsaḥ pari vo hetī Rudrasya vṛiṇyāḥ* | "Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you."

R. V. vi. 49, 10.—*Bhuvanasya pitaraṃ gīrbhir ābhī Rudraṃ divā vardhayā Rudram aktau | bṛihantam ṛishvam ajaraṃ sushumnam ṛidhag huvema kavineshitāsaḥ* | "Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, specially invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the undecaying, the blessed."

R. V. vi. 50, 4—*Ā no Rudrasya sūnavo namantām adyā hutāso Vasavo adhṛishṭāḥ | ityādi* | 12. (quoted above, p. 71). "May the sons of Rudra, may the irresistible Vasus, invoked to-day, stoop down to us," etc. . . . . 12. (translated above, p. 71).

R. V. vi. 66, 3.—*Rudrasya ye mīḷhushaḥ santi putrāḥ yāṃś cho nu dādhṛivir bharadhyai | vide hi mātā maho mahī shā sā it Pṛiśniḥ subhve garbham ādhāt* | . . . . 11. *Tam vṛidhantam mārutam bhrājad-ṛishṭiṃ*

Rudrasya sūnuṁ havasā ā vivāse | ityādi |—"those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Pṛiśni was pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Maruts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra," etc.

R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—*Somā-Rudrā dhārayethām asuryam pra vām iśhṭayo 'ram aśnuvantu | dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ chatushpade* | 2. (A. V. 7, 42, 1) *Somā-Rudrā vi vṛihatam vishūchīm amīvā yā no gayam āviveśa | āre bādhethāṁ Nirṛitim parāchair asme bhadrā sauśravasāni santu* | 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). *Somā-Rudrā yuvam etāni asme viśvā tanūshu bheshajāni dhattam | ava syatam muñchatam yad no asti tanūshu baddhaṁ kṛitam eno asmat* | 4. *Tigmāyudhau tigma-hetī suśevau Somā-Rudrāv iha su mṛiḷatam naḥ | pra no muñchatam Varuṇasya pāśād gopāyatam naḥ sumanasyamānā* | "Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you. In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive away that hostile disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirriti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuṇa; protect us, regarding us with favour."

R. V. vii. 10, 4.—*Indraṁ no Agne Vasubhiḥ sajoshā Rudraṁ Rudrebhir ā vahā bṛihantam | Ādityebhir Aditiṁ viśva-janyām Bṛihaspatim ṛikvabhir viśva-vāram* | "Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra, with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Bṛihaspati who grants all boons."

R. V. vii. 35, 6.— . . . . *Śaṁ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalāshaḥ* . . . . "may the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us," etc.

R. V. vii. 36, 5.—*Yajante asya sakhyaṁ vayaś cha namasvinaḥ sve ṛitasya dhāman | vi pṛiṅo bābadhe nṛibhiḥ stavāna idaṁ namo Rudrāya preshṭham* | "Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Lauded by men, he has

distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra."

R. V. vii. 40, 5. (quoted and translated above, pp. 73, 74).

R. V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—*Prātar Agnim prātar Indraṁ havāmahe prātar Mitrā-Varuṇā prātar Aśvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatim prātaḥ Somam uta Rudraṁ huvema |* "In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuṇa, in the morning the Aśvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūshaṇ, Brahmaṇaspati, Soma, and Rudra."

R. V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—*Imā Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane giraḥ xipreshave devāya svadhāvne*[229] *| ashāḷhāya sahamānāya vedhase tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛiṇotu nāḥ | 2. Sa hi xayeṇa xamyasya janmanaḥ sāmrājyena divyasya cetati | avann avantīr upa no duraś chara anamīvo Rudra jāsu no bhava | 3* (Nirukta, x. 7).—*Yā te didyud avasṛishṭā divas pari xmayā charati pari sā vṛiṇaktu naḥ | sahasraṁ te svapivāta bheshajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu rīrishaḥ | 4. Mā no vadhī Rudra mā parā dā mā te bhūma prasitau hīḷitasya | ā no bhaja barhishi jīva-śaṁse yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ |* "Present these songs to Rudra with the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable, the assailant, the disposer, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear us. 2. By his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and by his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access, hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descendants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into thy net when thou art incensed. Place us on the sacrificial carpet destined for the tribe of the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions."

R. V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433)—*Ke īṁ vyaktā naraḥ sanīḷā Rudrasya maryāḥ adhā svaśvāḥ | 2. Nakir hi eshāṁ janūṁshi veda te aṇga vidre mitho janitram |* "Who are these visible heroes, the sons of Rudra,

[229] Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 135) considers the word *svadhāvat* to signify "independent," "whose glory is inherent," etc., and refers to R. V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illust. Roth assigns to *svadhā* the sense of "according to one's own determination," "according to pleasure," and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz.: R. V. i. 6. 4; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and viii. 20, 7.

occupying the same abode, possessing excellent horses? No one knows their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common production."

R. V. vii. 58, 5.—*Tān ā Rudrasya mīḷhushō vivāse ityādi* | "I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra," etc.

R. V. viii. 13, 20.—*Tad id Rudrasya chetati yahvam pratneshu dhāmasu* | *mano yatrā vi tad dadhur vichetasaḥ* | "That [worship] the offspring of Rudra perceive in their ancient abodes, and on it these wise deities have therefore fixed their minds."

R. V. viii. 20, 17.—*Yathā Rudrasya sūnava divo vaśanti asurasya vedhasaḥ* | *yuvānas tathā it asat* | "As the wise and youthful sons of Rudra the deity of the sky desire, so shall it be."

R. V. viii. 22, 13.— . . . . *Tā u namōbhir īmahe* | 14. *Tāv id doshā tāv ushasi śubhas patī tā yāman rudra-varttanī* | [230] *mā no marttāya ripave vājinī-vasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam* | "We invoke them (the Aśvins) with adoration (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, o terrible (*rudrau*) lords of wealth, abandon us to our mortal enemy."

R. V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 79).

R. V. viii. 61, 3.—*Antar ichhanti tam jane rudram paro manīshayā* | *gṛibhṇanti jihvayā sasam* | "They entreat the god who is terrible (*rudra*) beyond all thought, to enter among the people. With their tongues they take food."

R. V. x. 64, 8.—*Triḥ sapta sasrā nadyo mahīr apo vanaspatīn parvatān Agnim ūtaye* | *Kṛiśānum astṛīn Tishyaṁ sadhasthe ā Rudraṁ Rudreshu rudriyaṁ havāmahe* | We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛiśānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, terrible among the Rudras."

R. V. x. 65, 1. (quoted and translated above, p. 82).

R. V. x. 66, 3.—*Indro Vasubhiḥ paripātu no gayam Ādityair no Aditiḥ śarma yachhatu* | *Rudro Rudrebhir devo mṛilayāti nas Tvashṭā no gnābhiḥ suvitāya jīvatu* | "May Indra with the Vasus protect our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the

[230] This word *rudra-varttanī* is also applied to the Aśvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R. V. x. 39, 11.

divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvashṭṛi with his wives bless us for our welfare."

R. V. x. 92, 5.—*Pra Rudreṇa yayinā yanti sindhavas tiro mahīm aramatiṁ dadhanvire | yebhiḥ parijmā pariyann uru jrayo vi roruvaj jaṭhare viśvam uxate | . . . .* 9. *Stomaṁ vo adya Rudrāya śikvase xayad-vīrāya namasā didishṭana | yebhiḥ śivaḥ svavān evayāvabhir divaḥ sishakti sva-yaśā nikāmabhiḥ |* "The waters flow [impelled] by the moving Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, roaring god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], fertilizes all contained in its womb. . . . . 9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, comes down from the sky."

R. V. x. 93, 4.—*Te ghā rājāno amṛitasya mandrā Aryamā Mitro Varuṇaḥ parijmā | kad Rudro nṛiṇāṁ stuto Marutaḥ Pūshaṇo Bhagaḥ | . . . .* 7. *Uta no rudrā chid mṛiḷatām Aśvinā ityādi |* "These are the kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa the circumambient, Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruts, the Pūshans, and Bhaga. . . . . 7. May the terrible (*rudra*) Aśvins be favourable to us," etc.

R. V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—*Ahaṁ Rudrāy adhanur ā tanomi brahma-dvishe śarave hantavā u ityādi |* (Vāch speaks): "I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest," etc.

R. V. x. 126, 5.— . . . . *Ugram Marudbhī Rudraṁ huvema ityadi |* "Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts," etc.

R. V. x. 126, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—*Keśī agniṁ keśī vishaṁ keśī bibhartti rodasī | keśī viśvaṁ svar dṛiśe*[231] *keśī idaṁ jyotir uchyate | . . . .* 7. *Vāyur asmā upāmanthat pinashṭi smā kunannamā | keśī vishasya pātreṇa yad Rudreṇāpibat saha |* "The long haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he beholds the entire sky; he is called this light. . . . . 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (*visha*) which he drank along with Rudra."

Prof. Roth (Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 164) understands the *keśin* or "long-haired being" who is the subject of the hymn, to be an un-

[231] *Keśī idaṁ sarvam idam abhivipaśyati* | —Nir. xii. 26.

shorn ascetic, who by his austerities has gained supernatural powers, and placed himself upon a level with the gods, and refers to R. V. vii. 56, 8. In his Lexicon, however, Roth refers to *keśin* as an epithet of Rudra in Atharva-veda, xi. 2, 18 (to be quoted below), with which he also compares the present passage. Yāska understands *keśin* of the Sun whose locks are rays. The allusion in the 7th verse to Rudra drinking water (*visha*) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking poison (*visha*).—See above, p. 43.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—*Mayobhūr vāto abhivātu usrāḥ ūrjasvatīr oshadhīr āriśantām | pīvasvatīr jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasāya padvate*[232] *Rudra mṛiḷa* | "May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let them consume invigorating plants; let them drink, being fat and life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our moving sources of food."

SECT. II.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-veda.*

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—*Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā taṁ jushasva svāhā | esha te Rudra bhāga ākhus te paśuḥ* | 58. *Ava Rudram adīmahy ava devam tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ śreyasas karad yathā no vyavasāyayāt* | 59. *Bheshajam asi bheshajaṁ gave 'śvāya purushāya bheshajam | sukham meshāya meshyai* | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12). *Tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pushti-vardhanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād mṛityor muxīya mā 'mṛitāt | tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād ito muxīya mā 'mutaḥ* | 61. *Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atīhi | avatata-dhanvā pināka-vasaḥ kṛitti-vāsā ahiṁsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi* | 62. *Tryāyushaṁ Jamadagneḥ Kaśyapasya tryāyusham | yad deveshu tryāyushaṁ tad no astu tryāyusham* | 63. *Śivo nāmāsi svadhitis te pitā namas te astu mā mā hiṁsīḥ | nivartayāmy āyushe annādyāya prajananāya rāyas-poshāya suprajāstvāya suvīryāya |*

"This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with

[232] *Padvad avasaṁ gāvaḥ* | —Nir. i. 17.

favour, may it be fortunate (*svāhā*). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. Let us satisfy Rudra; let us satisfy the god Tryambaka,[233] that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of fatness. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from death, not from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who causes us to find our husbands. Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not from that. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with it depart beyond the Mūjavat, with thy bow unbended, with thy goad slackened, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over.[234] 62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods. 63. Thou art gracious (*śiva*) by name; a thunderbolt [or an axe] is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I empower thee [o sacrificer] to obtain life, food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess." [235]

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous Śatarudriya, a prayer the holiness and efficacy of which are celebrated in two passages quoted above (pp. 162 and 167) from the Mahābhārata (see also p. 155).

Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, xvi. 1 ff.—*Namas te Rudra manyave uto te ishave namaḥ | bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ | 2. Yā te Rudra śivā tanūr aghorā 'pāpa-kāśinī | tayā nas tanvā śantamayā giriśantābhichākaśīhi | 3. Yām ishuṁ giriśanta haste bibharshi astave | śivāṁ giritra tāṁ kuru mā hiṁsīḥ purushaṁ jagat | 4. Śivena vachasā tvā giriśāchhā vadāmasi | yathā naḥ sarvam ij jagad ayaxmaṁ sumanā asat | 5. Adhy avochad adhi-vaktā prathamo daivyo bhishak | ahīṁścha sarvān jambhayan sarvāś-*

[233] S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—*Ambikā ha vai nāmāsya svasā | tayā 'syaisha saha bhāgaḥ | tad yad asyaisha striyā saha bhāgas tasmāt Tryambako nāma |* "He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (*strī*), he is called Tryambaka" (*i.e.* Stryambaka).

[234] See the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 364 f.

[235] The commentator says that the first half of this verse is addressed to a razor, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the razor to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words *nivārttayāmy āyushe*, etc., by "I shave thee for longevity," etc.

cha yātudhānyo 'dharāchīḥ parāsuva | 6. *Asau yas tāmro aruṇa uta babhruḥ sumaṅgalaḥ* | *ye chainaṁ Rudrā abhito dikṣu śritāḥ sahasraśo 'vaishāṁ heḍa īmahe* | 7. *Asau yo 'vasarpati nīlagrīvo vilohitaḥ* | *utainaṁ gopā adṛiśrann adṛiśrann udahāryyaḥ sa dṛishṭo mṛiḍayāti naḥ* | 8. *Namo 'stu nīla-grīvāya sahasrākṣāya mīḍhushe* | *atho ye asya satvāno ahaṁ tebhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ* | 9. *Pramuñcha dhanvanas tvam ubhayor ārtnyor jyām* | *yāśchā te hasta ishavaḥ parā tā bhagavo vapa* | 10. *Vijyaṁ dhanuḥ kapardino viśalyo bāṇavān uta* | *aneśam asya yā ishava ābhur asya nishaṅgadhiḥ* | 11. *Yā te hetir mīḍhushṭama haste babhūva te dhanuḥ* | *tayā 'smān viśvatas tvam ayaxmayā pari bhuja* | 12. *Pari te dhanvano hetir asmān vṛiṇaktu viśvataḥ* | *atho ya ishudhis tava āre asmad nidhehi tam* | 13. *Avatatya dhanush tvaṁ sahasrākṣa śateshudhe* | *niśīrya śalyānām mukhā śivo naḥ sumanā bhava* | 14. *Namas te āyudhāya anātatāya dhṛishṇave* | *ubhābhyāṁ uta te namo bāhubhyāṁ tava dhanvane* | 15. (=R.V. i. 114, 7.) 16. (=R.V. i. 114, 8.) 17. *Namo hiraṇyabāhave senānye diśāñcha pataye namo namo vṛikebhyo harikeśebhyaḥ paśūnām pataye namo namaḥ śashpiñjarāya tvishīmate pathīnām pataye namo namo harikeśāya upavītine pushṭānām pataye namaḥ* | 18. *Namo babhluśāya vyādhine 'nnānām pataye namo Bhavasya hetyai jagatām pataye namo namo Rudrāya ātatāyine xetrāṇām pataye namo namaḥ sūtāya ahantyai vanānām pataye namaḥ* | 19. *Namo rohitāya sthapataye vṛikṣāṇām pataye namo namo bhuvantaye vārivaskṛitāya oshadhīnām pataye namo namo mantriṇe vāṇijāya kaxāṇām pataye namo nama uchchairghoshāya ākrandayate pattīnām pataye namaḥ* | 20. *Namaḥ kṛitsnāyatayā dhāvate satvanām pataye namo namaḥ sahamānāya nivyādhine āvyādhinīnām pataye namo namo nishaṅgiṇe kakubhāya stenānām pataye namo namo nicherave paricharāya araṇyānām pataye namaḥ* | 21. *Namo vañchate parivañchate stāyūnām pataye namo namo nishaṅgiṇe ishudhimate taskarāṇām pataye namo namaḥ sṛikāyibhyo jighāṁsadbhyo mushṇatām pataye namo namo 'simadbhyo naktaṁ charadbhyo vikṛintānām pataye namaḥ* | 22. *Nama ushṇīshiṇe giricharāya kuluñjānām pataye namo nama ishumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaścha vo namo nama ātanvānebhyo pratidadhānebhyaścha vo namo nama āyachchhadbhyo 'syadbhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 23. *Visṛijadbhyo vidhyadbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ svapadbhyo jāgradbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śayānebhya āsīnebhyaścha vo namo namas tishṭhadbhyo dhāvadbhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 24. *Namaḥ sabhābhyaḥ sabhāpatibhyaścha vo namo namo 'śvebhyo 'śvapatibhyaścha vo namo*

nama āvyādhinībhyo vividhyantībhyaścha namo nama uganāgbhyas tṛiṅhatībhyaś cha vo namaḥ | 25. *Namo ganebhyo ganapatibhyaścha vo namo namo vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyaścha vo namo namo gṛitsebhyo gṛitsapatibhyaścha vo namo namo virūpebhyo viśvarūpebhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 26. *Namaḥ senābhyaḥ senānibhyaścha vo namo namo rathibhyo 'rathebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ xattṛibhyaḥ saṅgrahītṛibhyaścha vo namo namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 27. *Namas taxabhyo rathakārebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ kulālebhyaḥ karmārebhyaścha vo namo namo nishādebhyaḥ puñjishṭhebhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śvanibhyo mṛigayubhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 28. *Namaḥ śvabhyaḥ śvapatibhyaścha namo Bhavāya Rudrāya cha namaḥ Sarvāya cha Paśupataye cha namo nīlagrīvaya cha śitikaṇṭhāya cha* | 29. *Namaḥ kaparddine cha vyupta-keśāya cha namaḥ sahasrākṣāya cha śatadhanvane cha namo giriśayāya cha śipiviṣhṭāya cha namo mīḍhushṭamāya cheshumate cha* | 30. *Namo hrasvāya cha vāmanāya cha namo bṛihate varshīyase cha namo vṛiddhāya cha savṛidhe cha namo 'gryāya prathamāya cha* | 31. *Nama āśave chājirāya cha namaḥ śīghryāya cha śībhyāya cha nama ūrmyāya chāvasvanyāya cha namo nādeyāya cha dvīpyāya cha* | 32. *Namo jyeshṭhāya cha kanishṭhāya cha namaḥ purvajāya chāparajāya cha namo madhyamāya chāpagalbhāya namo jaghanyāya cha budhnyāya cha* | 33. *Namaḥ sobhyāya cha pratisaryāya cha namo yāmyāya cha xemyāya cha namaḥ ślokyāya chāvasānyāya cha nama urvaryāya cha khalyāya cha* | 34. *Namo vanyāya cha kaxyāya cha namaḥ śravāya cha pratiśravāya cha nama āśushenāya chāśurathāya cha namaḥ śūrāya chāvabhedine cha* | 35. *Namo bilmine cha kavachine cha namo varmiṇe cha varūthine cha namaḥ śrutāya cha śrutasenāya cha namo dundubhyāya chāhananyāya cha* | 36. *Namo dhṛishṇave cha pramṛiśāya cha namo nishaṅgiṇe cheshudhimate cha namas tīxṇeshave chāyudhine cha namaḥ svāyudhāya sudhanvane cha* | 37. *Namaḥ srutyāya cha pathyāya cha namaḥ kāṭyāya cha nīpyāya cha namaḥ kulyāya cha sarasyāya cha namo nādeyāya cha vaiśantāya chā* | 38. *Namaḥ kūpyāya chāvaṭyāya cha namo vīdhryāya chātapyāya namo meghyāya cha vidyutyāya cha namo varshyāya chāvarshyāya cha* | 39. *Namo vātyāya cha reshmyāya cha namo vāstavyāya cha vāstupāya cha namaḥ Somāya cha Rudrāya(?) namas tāmrāya chāruṇāya cha* | 40. *Namaḥ śaṅgave paśupataye cha nama ugrāya cha bhīmāya cha namo agrevadhāya cha dūrevadhāya cha namo hantre cha hanīyase cha namo vṛixebhyo hari-keśebhyo namas tārāya* | 41. *Namaḥ śambhavāya cha mayobhavāya cha namaḥ*

śaṇkarāya cha mayaskarāya cha namaḥ śivāya cha śivatarāya cha | 42. *Namaḥ pāryāya chāvāryāya cha namaḥ prataraṇāya chottaraṇāya cha namas tīrthyāya cha kūlyāya cha namaḥ śashpyāya phenyāya cha* | 43. *Namaḥ sikatyāya cha pravāhyāya cha namaḥ kiṁśilāya cha xayaṇāya cha namaḥ kaparddine cha pulastaye* (?) *nama iriṇyāya cha prapathyāya cha* | 44. *Namo vrajyāya cha goshṭhyāya cha namas talpyāya cha gehyāya cha namo hṛidayyāya cha niveshyāya cha namaḥ kāṭyāya cha gahvareshṭhāya cha* | 45. *Namaḥ śushkyāya cha harityāya cha namaḥ pāṁsavyāya cha rajasyāya cha namo lopyāya cha ulapyāya cha nama ūrvyāya cha sūrvyāya cha* | 46. *Namaḥ parṇāya cha parṇaśadāya cha nama udguramāṇāya chābhighnate cha nama ākhidate cha prakhidate cha nama ishukṛidbhyo dhanushkṛidbhyaś cha vo namo namo vaḥ kirikebhyo devānāṁ hṛidayebhyo namo vichinvatkebhyo namo vixiṇatkebhyo nama ānirhatebhyaḥ* | 47. *Drāpe andhasaspate daridra nīlalohita* | *āsām prajānām eshām paśūnām mā bher mā roṇ mo cha naḥ kiṁchanāmamat* | 48. (=R. V. i. 114, 1.) 49. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūḥ śivā viśvāhā bheshajī* | *śivā rutasya bheshajī tayā no mṛiḍa jīvase* | 50. (=R. V. ii. 33, 14.[236]) 51. *Mīḍhushṭama śivatama śivo naḥ sumanā bhava* | *parame vṛixe āyudhaṁ nidhāya kṛittiṁ vasāna āchara pinākam bibhrad āgahi* | 52. *Vikiridra vilohita namas te astu bhagavaḥ* | *yās te sahasraṁ hetayo 'nyam asmad nivapantu tāḥ* | 53. *Sahasrāṇi sahasraśo bāhvos tava hetayaḥ* | *tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ parāchīnā mukhā kṛidhi* | 54. *Asaṇkhyātā sahasrāṇi ye Rūdrā adhi bhūmyām* | *teshāṁ sahasra-yojane 'ava dhanvāni tanmasi* | 55. *Asmin mahaty arṇave antarixe Bhavā adhi* | *teshām ityādi* | 56. *Nīlagrīvāḥ śitikaṇṭhā divaṁ Rudrā upāśritāḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 57. *Nīlagrivāḥ śitikaṇṭhāḥ śarvāḥ adhaḥ xamācharāḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 58. *Ye vṛixeshu śashpiñjarā nīlagrīvā vilohitāḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 59. *Ye bhūtānām adhipatayo viśikhāsaḥ kaparddinaḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 60. *Ye pathām pathiraxasaḥ ailabṛidā āyuryudhaḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 61. *Ye tīrthāni pracharanti sṛikāhastā nishaṅgiṇaḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 62. *Ye anneshu vividhyanti pātreshu pibato janān* | *teshām ityādi* | 63. *Ye etāvantaścha bhūyāṁsaś cha diśo Rudrā vitasthire* | *teshāṁ ityādi* | 64. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshāṁ varsham ishavaḥ* | *tebhyo daśa prāchīr daśa daxiṇā daśa pratīchīr daśa udīchīr daśa ūrdhvāḥ* | *tebhyo namo astu te no avantu te no mṛiḍayantu te yaṁ dvishmo yaś cha*

[236] Instead of *mahī ǵāt*, the concluding words of the verse, as it stands in the R. V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has *aghāyoḥ*, "of the malicious."

no dveshṭi tam eshām jambhe dadhmaḥ | 65. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye antarixe yeshāṁ vāta ishavaḥ* | *tebhyo daśa ityādi* | 66. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye pṛithivyaṁ yeshām annam ishavaḥ* | *tebhyo daśa ityādi* |

"Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that holy body of thine which is auspicious,[237] not terrible, and which does not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, o dweller in the mountains, which thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, o lord of the mountains, auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4. With auspicious words we supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle may be healthy and cheerful. 5. May the intercessor, the first divine physician, intercede for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down and drive away all Yātudhānīs (female goblins). 6. We deprecate from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured, ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water[238] have seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both ends of thy bow; and throw away, o divine being, the arrows which are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. May his arrows perish, and his sword-sheath be empty. 11. That bow, o most bountiful, and that weapon which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous, do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13. Unbending thy bow, o thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and blunting the ends of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14. Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7, and 8.—See above, p. 256). 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the lord of beasts,[239] who is yellow

[237] Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 170, at the top.

[238] "Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites (*Vedokta-saṁskāra-hīnāḥ*).—Comm.

[239] This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant *the lord of sacrificial victims.*

like young grass, to the radiant, to the lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to the lord of the fattened, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer, to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields, to the charioteer of innoxiousness, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being that affords prosperity, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of armies who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of destroying armies, to the great wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves, to the robber, to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with arrows, to the murderous, to the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who bears a turban, who frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have arrows, and to you who have bows, to you with bended bows, and you who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce, to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to you the hosts which wound and pierce, which have excellent troops, and which are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you the lords of troops, to the Vrātas, and to you the lords of the Vrātas, to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed, and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to you the warriors, and to you the charioteers, to you the great and to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the Nishādas, and to you the Punjishthas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava, and to Rudra, and to Sarva, to Paśupati, to Nīlagrīva, and to Sitikantha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand

eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to Śipivishta,[240] to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to the fleet, and to the speedy, to him who dwells in billows, and in roaring waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown (?),[241] to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?),[242] to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmetted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the bold, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways and roads, and hollows, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, to the bringer of prosperity, to Paśupati, to the fierce (*ugra*) and the terrible, to him who kills in front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (*śaṇkarāya*), to the causer of happiness, to the auspicious (*śiva*) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and

[240] R. V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 74–77.

[241] Or "to him who is unrelated." The meaning of many of these epithets is very difficult to perceive, and is not perhaps of much consequence.

[242] *Sobhya* seems derived from *sa-śobha*, and perhaps signifies "one who partakes of two natures."

fro (?), to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable[243] places (?), to the god with braided hair, to him who stands before us (?),[244] who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in hollows, who abides in caves, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in vaults and in deep vaults. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to the witherer of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the vexer and the afflicter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods, to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor,[245] who art blue and red, do not frighten, do not destroy these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48. (=R. V. i. 114, 1.) 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50. (=R.V. ii. 33, 14.—See above, p. 260.) 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest tree, approach, clad in a skin,[246] come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who drivest away calamity, and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands. O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (*yojana*) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. Sarvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those

[243] Or, "in a place with still water."—Comm.

[244] *Pulastaye agre tishṭhati pulastiḥ* | —Comm.

[245] *Daridra*. The commentator explains this as meaning "without any connexion with others, from being without a second" (*nishparigraho 'dvitīyatvāt*). Prof. Roth (Lexicon) proposes to render the word by "roving about," and Prof. Weber by "splitter."

[246] See V. S. 3, 61, above p. 268.

[deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and whose hair is braided, we unbend, etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment (?), who fight for [our?] life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, armed with arrows in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky, of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east,[247] ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence: may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc. etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc. etc."

SECT. III.—*Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.*

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—*Rudra jalāsha-bheshaja nīla-śikhaṇḍa karma-kṛit | prāśam pratiprāśo jahi arasān kṛiṇu oshadhe* | "Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of rites, destroy the *prāśa* (? a plant), being an antidote: make them savourless, o plant!"

A. V. v. 21, 11.—*Yūyam ugrā Marutaḥ Pṛiśni-mātara Indreṇa yujā pra mṛiṇīta śatrūn | Somo rājā Varuṇo rājā mahādeva uta mṛityur Indraḥ* | "Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Pṛiśni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. Soma [is] a king, Varuṇa [is] a king, Indra is a great god and death."

[247] *Prāgabhimukhā aṅgulīḥ kurve iti śeshaḥ | añjalim baddhvā sarva-dikṣu namaskaromi |*

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—*Yamo mṛityur aghamāro nirṛitho babhruḥ Sarvo 'stā nīla-śikhaṇḍaḥ | deva-janāḥ senayā uttasthivāṁsas te asmākam pari vṛiṅjantu vīrān | 2. Manasā homair harasā ghṛitena Sarvāyāstre uta rājñe Bhavāya | namasyebhyo nama ebhyaḥ kṛiṇomy anyatrāsmad aghavishā nayantu |* "May Yama, death, who brings dire destruction, may the tawny hell, may Sarva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes. 2. With mind, with oblations, with fire (?), with ghee, I offer reverence to Sarva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us."

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Yo Agnau Rudro yo apsv antar ya oshadhīr vīrudha āviveśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākḷṛipe tasmai Rudrāya namo astv Agnaye |* "Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these worlds."

A. V. viii. 2, 7.— . . . . *Bhavā-śarvau mṛiḍatam śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritam dhattam āyuḥ | . . . . .* "Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life."

A. V. viii. 5. 10.—*Asmai maṇim varma badhnantu devā Indro Vishṇuḥ Savitā Rudro Agniḥ | ityādi |* "May the gods, Indra, Vishṇu, Savitṛi, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection," etc.

A. V. ix. 7, 7.—*Mitraś cha Varuṇaś chāṁsau Tvashṭā chāryamā cha doshaṇī Mahādevo bāhū |* "Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvashṭṛi and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms."

A. V. x. 1, 23.—*Bhavā-śarvāu asyatām pāpa-kṛite kṛityākṛite dushkṛite vidyutaṁ deva-hetim |* "Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer."

A. V. xi. 2, 1.—*Bhavā-Sarvau mṛiḍatam mā 'bhiyātam bhūta-patī paśu-patī namo vām | pratihitām āyatām mā vi srāshṭam mā no hiṁsishṭaṁ dvipado mā chatushpadaḥ | 2. Sune kroshṭre mā śarīrāṇi karttam aliklavebhyo gṛidhrebhyo ye cha kṛishṇā avishyavaḥ | maxikās te Paśupate vayāṁsi te vighase mā vidanta | 3. Krandāya te prāṇāya yāś cha te Bhava ropayaḥ | namas te Rudra kṛiṇmaḥ sahasrāxāya amartya | 4. Purastāt te namaḥ kṛiṇmaḥ uttarād adharād uta | abhīvargād divas pari antarixāya te namaḥ | 5. Mukhāya te Paśupate yāni chaxūṁshi te Bhava | tvacha rūpāya saṁdṛiśe pratīchīnāya te namaḥ | 6. Aṅgebhyas*

te udarāya jihvāyai āsyāya te | dadbhyo gandhāya te namaḥ | 7. Astrā nīla-śikhaṇḍena sahasrākṣeṇa vājinā | Rudreṇārdhaka-ghātinā tena mā samarāmahi | 8. Sa no Bhavaḥ pari vṛiṇaktu viśvataḥ āpa iväghniḥ pari vṛiṇaktu no Bhavaḥ | mā no 'bhi māṁsta namo astv asmai | 9. Chatur namo ashṭakṛitvo Bhavāya daśa kṛitvaḥ Paśupate namas te | taveme pañcha paśavo vibhaktā gāvo aśvāḥ purushā ajāvayaḥ | 10. Tava chatasraḥ pradiśas tava dyaus tava pṛithivī tavedam ugrorv antarikṣam | tavedaṁ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṇat pṛithivīm anu | 11. Uruḥ kośo vasudhānas tavāyaṁ yasminn imā viśvā bhuvanāny antaḥ | sa no mṛiḍa Paśupate namas te paraḥ kroshṭāro abhibhāḥ śvānaḥ paro yantv aghārudo vikeśyaḥ | 12. Dhanur bibharshi haritaṁ hiraṇyayaṁ sahasra-ghniṁ śata-vadhaṁ śikhaṇḍin | Rudrasyeshuś charati deva-hetis tasyai namo yatamasyāṁ diśītaḥ | 13. Yo 'bhiyāto nilayate tvāṁ Rudra nichikīrshati | paśchād anu prayuṅkte taṁ viddhasya pada-nīr iva | 14. Bhavā-rudrau sayujā saṁvidānāv ubhāv ugrau charato vīryāya | tābhyāṁ namo yatamasyām diśītaḥ | 15. Namas te astv āyate namo astu parāyate | namas te Rudra tishṭhate āsīnāyota te namaḥ | 16. Namaḥ sāyaṁ namaḥ prātar namo rātryā namo divā | Bhavāya cha Sarvāya cha ubhābhyām akaraṁ namaḥ | 17. Sahasrākṣam atipaśyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vipaśchitam | mā upārāma jihvayā īyamānam | 18. Syāvāśvaṁ kṛishṇam asitam mṛiṇantam bhīmaṁ rathaṁ keśinaḥ pūdayantam | pūrve pratīmo namo astv asmai | 19. Mā no 'bhi srā matyaṁ deva-hetim mā naḥ krudhaḥ Paśupate namas te | anyatra asmad divyāṁ śākhāṁ vi dhūnu | 20. Mā no himsīr adhi no brūhi pari no vṛiṇdhi mā krudhaḥ | ma tvayā samarāmahi | 21. Mā no goshu purusheshu mā gṛidho no ajāvishu | anyatrogra vi vartlaya piyārūṇām prajām jahi | 22. Yasya takmā kāsikā hetir ekam aśvasyeva vṛishaṇaḥ kranda eti | abhipūrvaṁ nirṇayate namo astv asmai | 23. Yo antarikṣe tishṭhati vishṭabhito ayajvanaḥ pramṛiṇan deva-pīyūn | tasmai namo daśabhiḥ śakvarībhiḥ | 24. Tubhyam āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛigā vane hitā haṁsāḥ suparṇāḥ śakunā vayāṁsi | tava yaxam Paśupate apsv antas tubhyaṁ xaranti divyā āpo vṛidhe | 25. Siṁśumārā ajagarāḥ purīkayā jashā matsyā rajasā yebhyo asyasi | na te dūraṁ na parishṭhā 'sti te Bhava sadyaḥ sarvām pari paśyasi bhūmim pūrvasmād dhaṁsy uttarasmin samudre | 26. Mā no Rudra takmanā mā visheṇa mā naḥ saṁ srā divyenāgninā | anyatrāsmad vidyutam pātayaitām | 27. Bhavo divo Bhava īśe pṛithivyā Bhava ā papre urv antarikṣam | tasyai namo yatamasyāṁ diśītaḥ |

28. *Bhava rājan yajamānāya mṛiḍa paśūnāṁ hi paśupatir babhūtha | yaḥ śraddadhāti santi devā iti chatushpade dvi-pade asya mṛiḍa |* 29. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) *Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā no vahantam uta mā no vaxyataḥ | mā no hiṁsīḥ pitaram mātaraṁ cha svāṁ tanvaṁ Rudra mā rīrisho naḥ |* 30. *Rudrasyailaba-kārebhyo 'saṁsūkta-gilebhyaḥ | idam mahāsyebhyaḥ śvabhyo akaraṁ namaḥ |* 31. *Namas te ghoshiṇībhyo namas te keśinībhyaḥ | namo namaskṛitābhyo namaḥ sambhuñjatībhyaḥ | namas te deva senābhyaḥ svasti no abhayaṁ cha naḥ |*

"Bhava and Sarva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of spirits, lords of beasts; reverence to you twain. Discharge not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon not our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to thy arrows, Bhava, and o immortal Rudra, to thee the thousand-eyed. 4. We offer reverence to thee from before, and from behind, and from below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament. 5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from before and behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose locks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the horseman, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka (?). 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine are these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra, are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy store-house of thine, within which all these worlds are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra's arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it from hence in whatever direction it goes. 13. Thou pursuest after the adversary who settles down and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man

tracking the steps (?) of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be from hence to them twain in whatever direction they are. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue injure Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has horses, is dark, black, destroying, who sets in motion the terrible car of the long-haired god (the Sun ?): reverence be to him. 19. Do not hurl at us thy harrow (?),[248] thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial arrow over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; intercede for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself elsewhere; slay the offspring of the wicked. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt, assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who determines [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten *śakvarī* verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, well-winged swans, and various birds are placed in the forest; worship of thee (?), Paśupati, exists in the waters: to magnify thee the celestial waters flow. 25. Porpoises, great serpents, *purīkayas*, sea-monsters, fishes, *rajasas*, upon which thou hurlest [thy weapon]. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled[249] the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him from hence in

[248] A. V. viii. 8, 11.—*Triṇedhu enān matyam Bhavasya* | "May the harrow (?) of Bhava crush them."

[249] Compare R. V. i. 52, 13, p. 86, above; and the other passages quoted in note 65 of the same page.

whatever region [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist.[250] 29. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who carries (?) nor those who shall carry (?),[251] neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, o deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, reverenced devouring (?) hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—*Bhavā-śarvāv idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiṁ cha yaḥ | ishūr yā eshāṁ saṁvidma tā naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ |* "We say this to Bhava and Sarva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us."

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—*Ya enām avaśām āha devānāṁ nihitaṁ nidhim | ubhau tasmai Bhavā-śarvau parikramyeshum asyataḥ |* "Both Bhava and Sarva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow."

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—*So 'ryamā sa Varuṇaḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ |* 26. *Sa Rudro vasuvanir vasudeye namovāke vashaṭkāro 'nu saṁhitaḥ |* 27. *Tasyeme sarve yātava upa praśisham āsate |* 28. *Tasyāmū sarvā naxatrā vaśe chandramasā saha |* "4. He (Savitṛi) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He (Rudra) the giver of wealth, is placed as the *vashaṭkāra* in the reverential invocation, for the purpose of giving wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control."

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber's Indische Studien, pp. 121–140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—*Tasmai prāchyā diśo antar-deśād Bhavam ishvāsam anushṭhātāram akurvan | Bhava enam ishvāsaḥ prāchyā diśo antar-deśād anushṭhātā 'nutishṭhati | nainaṁ Sarvo na Bhavo na Īśāno nāsya paśūn na samānān hinasti ya evam veda |* 2. *Tasmai daxiṇāyā diśo antardeśāch*

[250] Compare R. V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 151.

[251] Compare R. V. i. 114, 7, p. 256, above. It would appear as if in the time of the composition of the A. V. *uxantam* and *uxitam* of the R. V. had been derived from the root *vah*, in the same way as Sāyaṇa explains *vavaxuḥ*, and other forms of *vax* and *ux*, as derived from the root *vah*.—R. V. i. 64, 3, etc.

chharvam ishvāsam ityādi | 3. *Tasmai pratīchyā diśo antar-deśāt Paśupatim ityādi* | 4. *Tasmai udīchyā diśo antar-deśād ugraṁ devam ityādi* | 5. *Tasmai dhruvāyā diśo antar-deśād Rudram ityādi* | 6. *Tasmai ūrdhvāyā diśo antar-deśād Mahādevam ityādi* | 7. *Tasmai sarvebhyo antar-deśebhya Īśānam ityādi*" | "[The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vrātya) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither Sarva nor Bhava, nor Iśāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred. 2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made Ugradeva, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Iśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions," etc.

SECT. IV.—*Passages relating to Rudra from the Śatapatha and Śānkhāyana Brāhmaṇas.*

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work) Rudra is identified with Agni:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. i. 7, 3, 8.—*Agnir vai sa devas tasyaitāni nāmāni Sarva iti yathā prāchyā āchakṣate Bhava iti yathā Bāhīkāḥ Paśūnām patī Rudro 'gnir iti* | *tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāny Agnir ity eva śāntatamam* | "Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him,[252] Bhava, as the Bāhīkas, Paśūnāmpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (*i.e.* all the foregoing except Agni) are ungentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation."

[252] On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition): *Prāchyādideśa-bhedena Sarvādi-nāma-bhede 'pi devatā ekā eva* | "Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as Sarva, etc., still the god is but one."

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—*Abhūd vā iyam pratishṭhā iti | tad bhūmir abhavat | tām aprathayat sā pṛithivy abhavat | tasyām asyām pratishṭhāyām bhūtāni bhūtānāñcha patiḥ saṁvatsarāya adīxanta | bhūtānām patir gṛiha-patir āsīd Ushāḥ patnī | 8. Tad yāni tāni bhūtāni ṛitavas te | atha yaḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ saḥ | atha yā sā Ushāḥ patny aushasī sā | tāni imāni bhūtāni cha bhūtānāñcha patiḥ saṁvatsara Ushasi reto 'siñchan | sa samvatsare kumāro 'jāyata | so 'rodīt | 9. Tam Prajāpatir abravīt "kumāra kiṁ rodishi yach chhramāt tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si" iti | so 'bravīd "anapahata-pāpmā vā asmy ahitanāmā nāma me dhehi" iti | tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāpmānam evāsya tad apahanty api dvitīyam api tṛitīyam abhipūrvam evāsya tat pāpmānam apahanti | 10. Tam abravīd Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Agnis tad rūpam abhavad Agnir vai Rudro yad arodīt tasmād Rudraḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā aśato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 11. Tam abravīt "Sarvo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod āpas tad-rūpam abhavann āpo vai Sarvo 'dbhyo hi idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | tam abravīt Paśupatir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod oshadhayas tad-rūpam abhavann oshadhayo vai Paśupatis tasmād yadā paśava oshadhīr labhante 'tha patīyanti | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 13. Tam abravīd Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus tad-rūpam abhavad Vāyur vā ugras tasmād yadā balavad vāty Ugro vāti ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 14. Tam abravīd Aśanir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut tad-rūpam abhavad vidyud vā Aśanis tasmād yaṁ vidyud hanty Aśanir abadhīd ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 15. Tam abravīd Bhavo 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Parjanyas tad-rūpam abhavat Parjanyo vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyād hi idaṁ sarvam bhavati | so 'bravīd "jyāyāṇ vā asaṭo 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 16. Tam abravīd "Mahān devo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat Prajāpatir vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatir vai mahān devaḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 17. Tam abravīd Īśāno 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavad Āditvo vā Īśāna Āditvo hy asya sarvasya īshṭe | so 'bravīd "etāvān vā asmi mā metaḥ paro nāma dhā" iti | 18.*

Tāny etāny ashṭāv Agni-rūpāṇi Kumāro navamaḥ | sā eva Agnes tri-vṛittā | 19. Yad vā iva ashṭāv Agni-rūpāṇy ashṭāxarā gāyatrī tasmād āhur gāyatro 'gnir iti | so 'yañ kumāro rūpāṇy anuprāvišat | na vā Agniñ kumāram iva paśyanty etāny evāsya rūpāṇi paśyanty etāni hi rūpāṇi prāvišat |

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (*bhūmi*). He extended it (*aprathayat*). It became the broad one (*pṛithivī*). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (*samvatsara*). The lord of beings was a householder, and Ushas was his wife. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That 'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn).[253] Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (*Kumāra*)[254] was born in a year. The boy wept. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My sin indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his sin; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his sin. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Agni is Rudra. He was Rudra because he wept (*arodīt* from *rud*, 'to weep'). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.'[255] Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for the waters are Sarva (All), because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 21). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him

[253] I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasī; or how the 'lord of beings'=the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

[254] The name *Kumāra*, Weber remarks (Indische Studien, ii. 302, 395) is applied to Agni in Rig-veda, v. 2, 1.

[255] The origin of this name may perhaps be found in Rig-veda, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: *Iyam me nābhir iha me sadhastham ime me devā ayam asmi Sarvaḥ | dvijā aha prathama-jā ṛitasya idāṁ dhenur aduhaj jāyamānā* | "This is my centre, here is my assembly, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born."

that name, the Plants became his form, for the Plants are Paśupati. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong?) The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. Vāyu is Ugra (or the 'Fierce'). Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. Lightning is Aśani. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Parjanya is Bhava (Being); because all this [universe] arises from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahāndevaḥ (the '*Great god*').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. Prajāpati is the Moon: Prajāpati is the 'Great god.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the *ruler*).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Aditya (the Sun) became his form. For the Sun is Īśāna, because he rules (*īshṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛittā*) of Agni. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables. Hence men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.' This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa) is as follows:

Märk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pradhyāyataḥ prabhoḥ | 3. Prādur-āsīd athāṅke 'sya kumāro nīla-lohitaḥ | ruroda susvaraṁ so 'tha dravaṁś cha dvija-sattama | kiṁ rodishīti tam Brahmā rudantam pratyuvācha ha | nāma dehīti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha*

jagat-patim | Rudras tvaṁ deva namnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyyam āvaha | evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛitvo ruroda ha | tato 'nyāni dadau tasmai sapta nāmāni vai prabhuḥ | sthānāni chaishām ashṭānām patnīḥ puttrāṁś cha vai dvija | Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tatheśānaṁ tathā Paśupatim prabhuḥ | Bhīmam Ugram Mahādevam uvācha sa Pitāmahaḥ |

"When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (*i.e.* Brahmā) was meditating on a son similiar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, 'Why dost thou weep?' He answered the lord of the world, 'Give me a name.' [Brahmā rejoined] 'Thou, o deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.' Being thus addressed [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives, and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [beside Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva."

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Aśani) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Śānkhāyana or Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien, ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who has copied it from the MS. of the Śānkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Śānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajātikāmas tapo 'tapyata | tasmāt taptāt panchājāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityaś Chandramā Ushāḥ panchamī | tān abravīd yūyam api tapyadhvam iti | te 'dīkshanta | tān dīkshitāñs tepānān ushāḥ prājāpatyā 'psarorūpaṁ kṛitvā purastāt pratyudait | tasyām eshām manaḥ samapatat | te reto 'siñchanta | Te prajāpatim pitaram etyābruvan "reto va asichāmahā idam no māmuyā bhūd" iti | sa prajāpatir hiraṇmayaṁ chamasam akarod ishumātram ūrdhvam evaṁ tiryañcam | tasmin retaḥ samasiñcat | tata udatishṭhat sahasrākshaḥ sahasrapāt sahasreṇa pratihhitābhiḥ | 2. Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyāyachhat | taṁ abravīt kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasīti | nāma me kuru ity abravīn na vā idam avihitena nāmnānnam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Bhava eveti yad Bhava āpas | tena na haṛvā evam Bhavo hinasti | nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ cana | atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vratam ā īm eva vāsaḥ pari-*

dadhīteti | 3. *Taṁ dvitīyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt* | *kathā mābhyāyachhasīti* | *dvitīyam me nāma kurv ity abravīn na vā idam ekena nāmnānnam atsyāmīti* | *sa vai tvam iti abravīch Chharva eveti yach Chharvo 'gniḥ* | *tena na ha vā enaṁ Sarvo hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ cana* | *atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati* | *na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ sarvam eva nāśnīyād iti* | 4. *Taṁ tṛitīyam abhyāyachhat* | *tam abravīt kathā mābhyachhasīti* | *tṛitīyam me nāma kurv ity abravīn na vā idaṁ dvābhyāṁ nāmabhyām annam atsyāmīti* | *sa vai tvam ity abravīt Paśupatir eveti yat Paśupatir vāyuḥ* | *tena na ha vā enam Paśupatir hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ cana* | *athā ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati* | *na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vratam brāhmaṇam eva na parivaded iti* | 5. *Taṁ chaturtham abhyāyachhat* | *tam abravīt kathā mā'bhyāyachhasīti* | *chaturtham me nāma kurv ity abravīt* | *na vā daṁ tribhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti* | *sa vai tvam ity abravīd Ugra eva deva iti yad Ugro deva oshadhayo vanaspatayaḥ* | *tena na ha vā enam Ugro devo hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ chana* | *atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati* | *na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ striyā eva vivaraṁ nekshetēti* | 6. *Tam pañcamam abhyāyachhat* | *tam abravīt kathā mābhyāyachhasīti* | *pañchamam me nāma kurv ity abravīt* | *na vā idaṁ chaturbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti* | *sa vai tvam ity abravīn Mahān eva deva iti* | *yan Mahān deva Ādityaḥ* | *Tena na ha vā enam Mahān devo hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ chana* | *atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati* | *na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vratam udyantam evainaṁ nekshetāstaṁ yantaṁ chēti* | 7. *Taṁ shashṭham abhyāyachhat tam abravīt kathā mā abhyāyachhasīti* | *shashṭham me nāmā kurv ity abravīt* | *na vā idam pañchabhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti* | *sa vai tvam ity abravīd Rudra eveti yad Rudraś chandramāḥ* | *Tena na ha vā enaṁ Rudro hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ chana* | *atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati* | *na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ vimūrtam eva nāśnīyān majjānaṁ chēti* 8. *Taṁ saptamam abhyāyachhat* | *tam abravīt kathā mābhyāyachhasīti* | *saptamam me nāma kurv ity abravīt* | *na vā idaṁ shaḍbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti* | *sa vai tvam ity abravīd Īśāna eveti yad Īśāno 'nnaṁ* | *tena na ha vā enam Īśāno hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ chana* | *atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati* | *na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vratam annam avechhamānaṁ na prati-*

yācahshīteti | 9. Tam ashṭamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhyāyachhasīty | ashṭamam me nāma kurv ity abravīn na vā idaṁ saptabhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Aśanir eveti yad Aśanir Indraḥ | tena na ha vā enam Aśanir hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ satyam eva vaded dhiraṇyaṁ cha bibhṛiyād iti | sa esho 'shṭanāmā 'shṭadhā vihito Mahān devaḥ | ā ha vā asyāshṭamāt purushāt prajā'nnam atti vasīyān vasīyān haivāsya prajāyām ājāyate ya evaṁ veda |

"Prajāpati, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth. He said to them, 'Do you also perform austerity.' They consecrated themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpati, assuming the form of an Apsaras (celestial nymph), arose. Their attention was rivetted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came to Prajāpati their father, and said to him, 'We have discharged seed; let it not lie there in vain.' Prajāpati made a golden platter, of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand arrows. 2. He came to his father Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' He answered, 'Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no name has been given to me.' 'Thou art Bhava,' said Prajāpati; for Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being] came a second time to Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me,' he replied, 'a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.' 'Thou art Sarva,' Prajāpati answered; for Sarva is Agni. Wherefore Sarva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost

thou come to me?' 'Give me a third name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only two names.' 'Thou art Paśupati,' Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fourth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only three names.' 'Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god)' Prajāpati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fifth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only four names.' 'Thou art Mahāndeva (the great god),' Prajapati answered; for Mahāndeva is Aditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahāndeva does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a sixth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only five names.' 'Thou art Rudra,' Prajāpati answered; for Rudra is Chandramas (the Moon). Therefore Rudra does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything decomposed, or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a seventh name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only six names.' 'Thou art Īśāna,' Prajāpati answered; for Īśāna is food. Wherefore Iśāna does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahāndeva (great god) who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier men will be born among his descendants."

The following is the account given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the Śatarudrīya:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.—*Átha ataḥ śatarudriyaṁ juhoti* |

atra esha sarvo 'gnih saṁskṛitaḥ | sa esho 'tra Rudro devatā | tasmin devā etad amṛitaṁ rūpam uttamam adadhuḥ | sa esho 'tra dīpyamāno 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devā abibhayur yad vai no 'yam na hiṁsyād iti | 2. Te 'bruvann annam asmai sambharāma tena enaṁ śamayāma iti | tasmā etad annaṁ samabharan śānta-devatyam | tena enam aśamayan | tad yad etaṁ devam etena aśamayaṁs tasmāch chhānta-devatyam | śānta-devatyaṁ ha vai tach chhatarudriyam ity āchakṣate paroxam | paroxa-kāmā hi devāḥ |

"He now offers an oblation with the Śatarudriya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, 'lest' (they thought) 'he should destroy us.' 2. They said, 'Let us collect food for him, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called *Śānta-devatya* ("that with which a god is appeased"). They call this *Śānta-devatya* esoterically *Śata-rudriya;* for the gods love what is esoteric."

On this the commentator remarks: *Vihito 'yaṁ homo Rudra-rūpatā-pannasya Agner upaśamanārtham* | "This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra."

The same work gives, a little further on, a different account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the Śatarudriya:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—*Prajāpater visrastād devatā udakrāmaṁs tam eka eva devo nājahād Manyur eva | so 'sminn antar vitato 'tishṭhat | so 'rodīt | tasya yāny aśrūṇi prāskandaṁs tāny asmin Manyau pratyatishṭhan | sa eva śata-śīrshā Rudraḥ samabhavat sahasrākṣaḥ śateshudhiḥ | atha yā anyā viprusho 'pataṁs tā asaṅkhyātā sahasrāṇi*[256] *imān lokān anuprāvishan | tad yad ruditāt samabhavaṁs tasmād Rudrāḥ | so 'yaṁ śataśīrshā Rudraḥ sahasrākṣaḥ śateshudhir*[257] *adhijya-dhanvā pratihitāyai bhīshayamāṇo 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devā abibhayuḥ | 7. Te Prajāpatim abruvan | asmād vai bibhīmo yad vai no 'yaṁ na hiṁsyād iti | so 'bravīd annam asmai sambharata tena enaṁ śamayata iti | tasmā etad annaṁ samabharan śatarudriyaṁ tenainam aśamayan | tad yad etaṁ śataśīrshāṇaṁ Rudram etenāśamayaṁs tasmāch chhataśīrsha-*

[256] Compare Nir. i. 15, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 54, above, p. 271.

[257] Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 269.

rudra-śamanīyam | śataśīrsha-rudra-śamanīyaṁ ha vai tat śatarudriyam ity ācharate paroxam | paroxa-kāmā hi devā ityādi |

"From Prajāpati, when he had become divided, the deities sprang forth. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became a Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, holding arrows, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajāpati, 'We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.' Prajāpati said to them, 'Collect for him food, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food, the śatarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is "that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased" (*Śata-śīrsha-rudra-śamanīyam*). This they esoterically call Śatarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric."

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 169), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttikeya,[258] however, which is narrated in the Vana-parva of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived:

14427 ff.—*Āgamya manuja-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | archāyāmāsa suprīto bhagavān govrisha-dhvajaḥ | Rudram Agniṁ dvijāḥ prāhū Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudreṇa śukram utsrishṭaṁ tat śvetaḥ parvato 'bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyaṁ śveto kṛittikābhiḥ kṛitaṁ naga | pūjyamānaṁ tu Rudreṇa dṛishṭvā sarve divaukasaḥ | Rudra-sūnuṁ tataḥ prāhur Guhaṁ guṇavatāṁ varam | anupraviśya Rudreṇa vahniṁ jāto hy*

[258] Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 538, note) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.

ayaṁ śiśuḥ | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Svāhāyāḥ shaṇṇāṁ strīṇāṁ cha Bhārata | jātaḥ Skandaḥ sura-śreshṭho Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat |

"The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Rudra Agni; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agni) was formed (?) by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honored by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Rudra, [who was] Agni, and from Svāhā [and] the six wives, was the son of Rudra."

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (*deva-senā*) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasenā (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasenā (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasenā with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.). Indra then departs with Devasenā. It happened that Vaśishtha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

Nishkrāmaṁś chāpy apaśyat sa patnīs teshām mahātmanām | sveshv āśrameshūpavishṭāḥ svapantīś cha tathā sukham | rukma-vedi-nibhās tās tu chandra-lekhā ivāmalāḥ | hutāsanārchiḥ-pratimāḥ sarvās tārā ivādbhutāḥ | sa tatra tena manasā babhūva xubhitendriyaḥ | patnīr dṛishṭvā dvijendrāṇāṁ Vahniḥ kāma-vaśaṁ yayau | bhūyaḥ sa chintayāmāsa na nyāyyaṁ xubhito hy aham | sādhvyaḥ patnyo dvijendrāṇām akāmāḥ kāmayāmy aham | naitāḥ śakyā mayā drashṭum prashṭuṁ vā 'py animittataḥ | gārhapatyaṁ samāviśya tasmāt paśyāmy abhīxṇaśaḥ | saṁspṛiśann iva sarvās tāḥ śikhābhiḥ kāñchana-prabhāḥ | paśyamānaś cha mumude gārhapatyaṁ samāśritaḥ | nirushya tatra suchiram evaṁ Vahnir vaśaṁ gataḥ | manas tāsu viniḥxipya kāmayāno varāṅganāḥ | kāmasantapta-hṛidayo deha-tyāga-viniśchitaḥ | alābhe brāhmaṇa-strīṇām Agnir vanam upāgamat | Svāhā tam Daxa-duhitā prathamaṁ kāmayat tadā | sā tasya chhidram anvaichhach chirāt-prabhṛiti bhāvinī | apramattasya devasya na cha paśyaty aninditā | sā taṁ jñātvā yathāvat tū Vahnim vanam upāgatam | tattvataḥ kāma-santaptaṁ chintayāmāsa bhāvinī | ahaṁ saptarshi-patnīnāṁ kṛitvā rūpāṇi Pāvakam | kāmayishyāmi kāmārttā tāsāṁ rūpeṇa mohitam | evaṁ kṛite prītir asya kāmāvāptiś cha me bhavet | Śivā bhāryyā tv Aṅgirasaḥ śīla-rūpa-guṇānvitā | tasyāḥ sā prathamaṁ rūpaṁ kṛitvā devī janādhipa | jagāma Pāvakābhyāsaṁ taṁ chovācha varāṅganā | mām Agne kāma-santaptāṁ tvaṁ kāmayitum arhasi | karishyasi na ched evam mṛitām mām upadhāraya | aham Aṅgiraso bhāryyā Śivā-nāmā Hutāśana | śishṭābhiḥ prahitā prāptā mantrayitvā viniśchayam | Agnir uvācha | katham māṁ tvaṁ vijānīshe kāmārttam itarāḥ katham | yās tvayā kīrttitāḥ sarvāḥ saptarshīṇām priyāḥ striyaḥ | Śivā uvācha | asmākaṁ tvam priyo nityam bibhīmas tu vayaṁ tava | tvachchittam iṅgitair jñātvā preshitā 'smi tavāntikam | maithunāyocha samprāptā kāmam prāptuṁ drutaṁ chara | yāmayo mām pratīxante gamishyāmi Hutāśana | Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha | tato 'gnir upayeme tāṁ Śivām prītām mudā yutaḥ | prītyā devī samāyuktā śukraṁ jagrāha pāṇinā | achintayad mamedaṁ ye rūpaṁ draxyanti kānane | te brāhmaṇīnām anṛitaṁ doshaṁ vaxyanti Pāvake | tasmād etad raxamāṇā Garuḍī sambhavāmy aham | vanād nirgamanaṁ chaiva sukham mama bhāvishyati | Suparṇī sā tadā bhūtvā nirjagāma mahāvanāt | apaśyat parvataṁ śvetaṁ śara-stambaiḥ susaṁvṛitam | dṛishṭīvishaiḥ sapta-śīrshair guptam bhogibhir adbhutaiḥ | raxobhiś cha piśāchaiś cha raudrair bhūtagaṇais tathā | rāxasībhiś cha sampūrṇam anekaiścha mṛiga-dvijaiḥ | sā

tatra sahasā gatvā śaila-prishṭhaṁ sudurgamam | prāxipat kāñchane kuṇḍe śukraṁ sā tvaritā śubhā | saptānām api sā devī saptarshīnām mahātmanām | patnī-sarūpatāṁ kṛitvā kāmayāmāsa Pāvakam | divya-rūpaṁ Arundhatyāḥ karttuṁ na śakitaṁ tayā | tasyās tapaḥ-prabhāveṇa bharttuḥ śuśrūshaṇena cha | shaṭkṛitvas tat tu niḥxiptam Agne retaḥ Kurūttama | tasmin kuṇḍe pratipadi kāminyā Svāhayā tadā | tat skannaṁ tejasā tatra saṁvṛitaṁ janayat sutam | ṛishibhiḥ pūjitaṁ skannam anayat Skandatāṁ tataḥ | shaṭ-śirā dviguṇa-śrotro dvādaśāxi-bhuja-kramaḥ | eka-grīvaika-jaṭharaḥ kumāraḥ samapadyata | . . . . . .

v. 14514: *Yadā Skandena mātṛīṇām evam etat priyaṁ kṛitam | tathainam abravīt Svāhā "mama putras tvam auraseḥ | ichhāmy ahaṁ tvayā dattām prītim paramā-durlabhām" | tām abravīt tataḥ Skandaḥ prītim ichhasi kīdṛiśīm | Svāhovācha | Daxasyāham priyā kanyā Svāhā nāma mahābhuja | bālyāt prabhṛiti nityaṁcha jāta-kāmā Hutāśane | na sa mām kāminīm putra samyag jānāti Pāvakaḥ | ichhāmi śāśvataṁ vāsaṁ vastum putra sahāgninā | Skanda uvācha | Havyaṁ kavyaṁcha yat kiṁchid dvijānām mantra-saṁstutam | hoshyanty Agnau sadā devi svāhety uktvā samuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛiti dāsyanti suvṛittāḥ sat-pathe sthitāḥ | evam Agnis tvayā sārddham sadā vatsyati śobhane | Mārkaṇḍeya uvacha | evam uktā tataḥ Svāhā tushṭā Skandena pūjitā | Pāvakena samāyuktā bharttrā Skandam apūjayat | tato Brahmā Mahāsenam Prajāpatir athābravīt | abhigachha Mahādevam pitaraṁ tripurārddanam | Rudreṇāgniṁ samāviśya svāhāṁ āviśya chomayā | hitārthaṁ sarva-lokānāṁ jātas tvam aparājitaḥ |*

"Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] seated in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars (?), pure as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars. Perceiving that, his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of the Brahmans, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he reflected, 'It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmans, who are not in love with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close at hand.' Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his attention upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was

overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to obtain the Brahmans' wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form, and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Daxa, first fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess thus reflected: 'I who am distressed by love, will take the form of the seven rishis' wives, and will court the affection of Agni who is enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I shall obtain my desire.' Assuming first the form of Śivā, the wife of Aṇgiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent qualities, the beautiful goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus addressed him: 'Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead. Agni, I, Śivā, the wife of Aṇgiras, have come, sent by virtuous women, and having considered my determination.' Agni replied: 'How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?' Śivā answered: 'Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil your desire. The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hutāsana (Agni).' Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Śivā. The goddess filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, 'All those who shall see this form of mine in the forest, will falsely allege the transgression of Brahmans' wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will become easy. She then, becoming Suparṇī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents whose very glance was venomous, by Rākxasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Raxasīs, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she

could not take the divine form of Arundhatī (the wife of Vaśishṭha), owing to the power of the latter's austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the *pratipad* (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (*skanna*), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of *Skanda*. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly." Kārttikeya marries Devasenā (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis' wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (*svarga*). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): "When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said to him, 'Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.' Skanda then asked her, 'What love dost thou desire?' Svāhā replied, 'I am the beloved daughter of Dakṣa, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.' Skanda rejoined: 'Whatever oblation of Brahmans is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, '*Svāhā*.' From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thus, o beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually.' Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), 'Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umā who had entered into Svāhā."

SECT. V.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.*

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmaṇas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads.

The first is from the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii. pp. 323 ff.):

Śvetāśvaratara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—*Ya eko jālavān īśate īśanībhiḥ sarvān lokān īśate īśanībhiḥ | ya evaika udbhave sambhave cha ye etad vidur amṛitās te bhavanti | 2. Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthur*[259] *ya imān lokān īśate īśanībhiḥ | pratyaṇ janāṁs tishṭhati sañchukopānta-kāle*[260] *saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ | 3.* (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) *Viśvataś-chaxur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhubhyām dhamati sam patatrair dyāvābhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ | 4. Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viśvādhipo Rudro maharshiḥ | Hiraṇya-garbhaṁ janayāmāsa pūrvaṁ*[261] *sa no buddhyā śubhayā saṁyunaktu |* 5 and 6=Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 268). . . . . iv. 21: *Ajāta ity evaṁ kaśchid bhīruḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te dakṣiṇaṁ mukham tena māṁ pāhi nityam |* 22=R. V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 (see above). "He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his powers, he who in source and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he absorbs them at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, blows them forth with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great sage, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first

[259] These words *na dvitīyaya tasthuḥ* appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a similar reading (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-śiras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, *eka eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyaḥ;* and Sāyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 42), gives the words thus, *eka eva Rudro na dvitīyo 'vatasthe.* Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 12, note), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): *Eka eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyo rane vighnan pṛitanāsu śatrūn | saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni goptā pratyaṇ janān sañchukochānta-kāle |* "One only Rudra exists and no second, slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end."

[260] The proper reading is probably *sañchukvcha.* See the last note.

[261] These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: *paśyata jāyamānam,* i.e. "behold Hiranyagarbha being born." The rest of the verse remains the same.

generated Hiraṇyagarbha,—may he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . *Ibid.* iv. 21. Some fearful man approaches (thinking) thus—'[Thou art] unborn.' Rudra, protect me with thy southern face."

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-śiras [262] Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their readings:

Devā ha vai svargaṁ lokam agaman | te devā Rudram aprichchhan ko bhavān iti | so 'bravīd aham ekaḥ prathamam āsaṁ varttāmi cha bhavishyāmi cha nānyaḥ kaśchid matto vyatirikta iti | so 'ntarād antaram prāvišad diśaśchāntaraṁ samprāvišat | so 'ham nityānityo vyaktāvyakto 'ham Brahmābrahmāham prāñchaḥ pratyañcho 'haṁ daxiṇāñcha udañcho 'ham adhaśchorddhvañcha diśaścha pratidiśaśchāham pumān apumān strī chāhaṁ sāvitry ahaṁ gāyatry aham trishṭub jagaty anushṭup chāhaṁ chhando 'ham gārhapatyo daxiṇāgnir āhavanīyo 'haṁ satyo 'haṁ gaur ahaṁ Gaury ahaṁ jyeshṭho 'haṁ śreshṭho 'haṁ varishṭho 'ham āpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham ṛigyajuḥ-sāmātharvāṅgiraso 'ham axaram ahaṁ xaram ahaṁ guhyo 'haṁ gopyo 'ham araṇyo 'ham pushkaram aham pavitram aham agrañcha madhyañcha vahiścha purastāj jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvañcha mām eva nām yo veda sa sarvān devān veda | gāṁ gobhir brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇyena havīṁshi havishā āyur āyushā satyaṁ satyena dharmaṁ dharmeṇa tarpayāmi svena tejasā | tato devā Rudraṁ nāpaśyams te devā Rudraṁ dhyāyanti tato devā ūrddhva-bāhavaḥ stuvanti yo vai Rudra sa bhagavān yaś cha Brahmā tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vishṇus tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Maheśvaras tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā chomā tasmai . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vināyakas tasmai . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Skandaḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaśchendrah . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaśchāgniḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yā cha bhūḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha bhuvaḥ . . . . | om ādau madhye bhūr bhuvaḥ suvar ante śīrshham [263] janadom viśva-rūpo 'si | Brahmaikas tvaṁ dvi-

[262] A work called Atharva-śiras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 14, 2, quoted above, p. 138.

[263] The commentator explains this thus: *Śīrshaṁ śiro mantraḥ svāhety evaṁrūpaḥ | janadom janadoti karmo palaxaṇārtham axara-trayam janam janim tadupalaxita-janimad vastu-jātam tad dadāti iti janadaḥ | tasya sambodhanam |* Instead of the words in the text, another MSS. reads, *bhūs te ādir madhyam bhuvas te svas te śīrshaṁ viśvarūpo 'si.*

tridhā ūrddhvam adhaścha tvaṁ śāntiścha tvaṁ pushṭiścha tvaṁ tushṭiścha tvaṁ hutam ahutam viśvam aviśvaṁ dattam adattam kṛitam akṛitam param aparam parāyaṇañcheti | "*apāma somam*[264] *amṛitā abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān* | *kiṁ nūnam asmān kṛiṇavad arātiḥ kim u dhūrttir amṛita marttyasya*" | (R. V. viii. 48, 3) | *sarva-jagaddhitam vā etad axaram prājāpatyaṁ sūxmaṁ saumyam purusham agrāhyam agrāhyeṇa Vāyuṁ vāyavyena somaṁ saumyena grasati svena tejasā* | *tasmā upasaṁharttre mahāgrāsāya vai namo namaḥ* | *hṛidisthā devatāḥ sarvā hṛidi prāṇe pratishṭhitāḥ* | *hṛidi tvam asi yo nityaṁ tisro mātrāḥ paras tu saḥ* | *tasyottarataḥ śiro daxiṇataḥ pādau ya uttarataḥ sa oṁkāraḥ* | *ya oṁkāraḥ sa praṇavo yaḥ praṇavaḥ sa sarva-vyāpī yaḥ sarva-vyāpī so 'nanto yo 'nantas tat tāraṁ*[265] *yat tāraṁ tat sūxmaṁ yat sūxmaṁ tat śuklaṁ yat śuklaṁ tad vaidyutaṁ yad vaidyutaṁ tat param Brahmeti sa ekaḥ sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa Maheśvaraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ* | *atha kasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ* | *yasmād uchchāryamāṇa eva sarvaṁ śarīram unnāmayati tasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ . . . . atha kasmad uchyate ekaḥ* | *yaḥ sarvān lokān udgṛihṇāti*[266] *sṛijati viśṛijati vāsayati tasmād uchyate ekaḥ* | *atha kasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ* | *eko Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe* (*sthitavān* | *advitīya eva sthitavān* | Comm.) *turīyam imaṁ lokam īśate īśanīyur* (*niyamana śaktimān* | Comm.) *jananīyuḥ* (*viśvotpādaka-śaktimān* | Comm.) *pratyan janās tiṣṭhanti saṁyugasyāntakāle saṁhṛitya viśvā bhuvānani goptā*[267] | *tasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ* | *atha kasmād uchyate Īśāno yaḥ sarvān lokān īśate īśanībhir jananībhiḥ parama-śaktibhiḥ* | "*abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhā iva dhenavaḥ* | *īśānam asya jagataḥ svardṛiśam īśānam Indra tastushaḥ*" | (R. V. vii. 32, 22) | *tasmād uchyate Īśānaḥ* | . . . . *atha kasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ* | *yaḥ sarvān lokān saṁbhaxaḥ saṁbhaxayaty ajasraṁ sṛijati viśṛijati vāsayati tasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ* | *atha kasmād uchyate Mahādevaḥ* | *yaḥ sarvān bhāvān parityajya ātma-jñāna-yogaiśvaryyo mahati mahīyate tas-*

[264] *Umayā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpiṇyā Kātyāyanyā saha varttate iti Somas tam* | *yataḥ somam apāma tataḥ amritāḥ maraṇa-hetubhir avidyā-tat-kāryya-saṁskārair vivarjitāḥ abhūma sampannāḥ* | —Comm.

[265] *Tārayati*, "delivers:" that which delivers.—Comm.

[266] *Ūrdhva-mokxam ātmani gṛihṇāti* | —Comm.

[267] In another MSS. a different answer is given to this question: *Yasmād ṛishibhir nānyair bhaktair dṛutam asya rūpam upalabhyate* | "He is called *Rudra* because his form is quickly (*dṛutam*) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons [or, by devout rishis alone?]."

mād uchyate Mahādevaḥ | tad etad (etad nāma-nirukti-rūpaṁ charitam | Comm.) *Rudra-charitam | "esho ha devaḥ pradiśo 'nu sarvāḥ pūrvo ha jātaḥ sa u garbhe antaḥ | sa eva jātaḥ sa janishyamāṇaḥ pratyaṇ janāstishṭhati viśvato-mukhaḥ"* | (Vāj. S. 34, 4) | *"viśvataś-chaxur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati saṁ patatrair dyāvā-pṛithivī janayan deva ekaḥ"* | (R. V. x. 81, 3) | *. . . Rudre ekatvam (aikyam |* Comm.) *āhuḥ | Rudraṁ śāśvataṁ vai purāṇam ityādi . . . . | vratam etat pāśupatam | agnir iti bhasma vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyometi bhasma sarvaṁ ha vā idam bhasma mana etāni chaxūṁshi bhasmāni | "Agnir" ityādinā bhasma gṛihītvā nimṛijya aṇgāni saṁspṛiśet | tasmād vratam etat pāśupatam paśu-pāśa-vimoxāya | yo 'tharva-śiram brāhmaṇo 'dhīte so 'gni-pūto bhavati | sa vāyu-pūto bhavati | sa āditya-pūto bhavati | sa soma-pūto bhavati | sa satya-bhūto bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati | sa sarveshu tīrtheshu snāto bhavati | sa sarveshu vedeshv adhīto bhavati | sa sarva-vedavrata-charyyāsu charito bhavati | sa sarvair devair jñāto bhavati | sa sarva-yajña-kratubhir ishṭavān bhavati | tena itihāsa-purāṇānāṁ Rudrāṇām śata-sahasrāṇi japtāni bhavanti | gāyatryāḥ śata-sahasraṁ japtam bhavati | praṇavānām ayutaṁ japtam bhavati | rūpe rūpe (pāṭhe pāṭho pratipāṭham |* Comm.) *daśa-pūrvān punāti daśottarān āchaxushaḥ paṅktim punāti ityāha bhagavān Atharva-śiro 'tharva-śiraḥ (abhyāsa ādarārthaḥ |* Comm.) *| sakṛij japtvā śuchiḥ pūtaḥ karmaṇyo bhavati | dvitīyaṁ japtvā gāṇapatyam (sarva-niyantṛitvam |* Comm.) *avāpnoti tṛitīyaṁ japtvā devam evānupraviśaty oṁ satyam | "yo Rudro agnau yo apsv antar ya oshadhīr vīrudha āviveśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākḷripe tasmai Rudrāya namo 'stu agnaye"* | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 277).

"The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, 'Who art thou?' He said, 'I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.' He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. 'I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,[268] I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc. Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the *sāvitrī*, I the *gāyatrī*, I the *trishṭup* (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern,

[268] *Vākyābhyāso rūpasyātmano vāstavatva-pradarśanārthaḥ |* Comm. I should rather suppose, however, that the second word is not *Brahma*, but *abrahma*.

and the *āhavanīya* fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī,[269] I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am fire, I am the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvāngirases, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the *pushkara* (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light,—I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmans with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.' Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditated upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praised him: 'He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Vishṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Maheśvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūh, etc. He who Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvah, etc.' (In the same way Rudra is identified with *suvaḥ* [*svaḥ*]; *mahaḥ; jana; tapas; satya; pṛithivī; āpas; tejas; vayu; ākāśa; sūrya; soma; naxatrāṇi; aushṭau grahāḥ; prāṇa; kāla; Yama; mṛityu; amṛita; bhūta, bhavya, bhavishyat; viśva; kṛitsna; sarva;* and *satya*). Om! at the beginning and in the middle are *bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ;* at the end is the head. O giver of life, om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, o immortal god?'[270] This imperishable [being or word?] benefi-

[269] *Śiva-priyā | ashṭavarshā vā kumārī gaura-varṇā bāla-tatā* (?) *tu* | —Comm.

[270] Quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 162. According to the commen-

cial to the whole world, sprung from Prajāpati, subtile, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Purusha by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of wind, soma by that which has the nature of soma.[271] To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the pranava, which (pranava) again is all-pervading, which ('all-pervading') again is infinite, which again is that which delivers, which again is subtile, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma. He is the one; he is the only Rudra, he is Iśāna, he is divine, he is Maheśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra. (The same enquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words *praṇava, sarvavyāpin* ['all-pervading'], *ananta* ['infinite'], the 'deliverer,' 'subtile,' 'white,' 'having the nature of lightning,' and 'the supreme Brahma.' Then *eka* 'one' is explained.). Now why is he called 'one?' He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the 'one.' 'There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within [him?]. At the time of the final conjunction he annihilates all worlds, the protector.[272] Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Iśāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. 'We, ó heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (*īśāna*) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].'[273] Hence he is called *Īśāna*. (*Bhagavat* is then explained). Then why is he called Maheśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Maheśvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning

tator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means *sa*+*uma*, he who dwells with Umā, in the form of divine knowledge, Kātyāyanī.

271 I do not profess to understand the sense of this.

272 It is difficult to make sense of this verse as the text at present stands.

273 R. V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 90.

all forms of being, is magnified in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. 'This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, ó men, with his face turned to every side.' (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) 'The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, blows them forth with his arms, and with his wings.'" (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . . Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. "In Rudra they say there is oneness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval," etc. The Pāśupata rite is thus described: "This is the Pāśupata observance; 'Agni is ashes, Vayu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes are ashes.' Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the Pāśupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śira is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and passages relating to Rudra, and a hundred thousand Gāyatrīs have been muttered, ten thousand oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-śiras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters, *om*, into the true god. 'Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.'"

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra's character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (*Brahmā-Vishṇu-Rudrendrāḥ*); and Śambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which, as it seems to be

corrupt, I cannot perfectly make out) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (*kāraṇaṁ tu dhyeyaḥ sarvaiśvaryya-sampannaḥ sarveśvaraś cha Sambhur ākāśa-madhye dhruvaṁ stabdhvā 'dhikaṁ xaṇam ekaṁ kratu-śatasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatyā yat phalaṁ tad avāpnoti kṛitsnam oṁkāra-gataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jñānānāṁ yat phalam oṁkāra veda-para īśo vā śiva eko dhyeyaḥ śivaṇkaraḥ sarvam anyat parityajya*).

In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Aśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (*Athāśvalāyano bhagavantam parameshṭhinam upasametyovācha adhīhi bhagavan brahma-vidyām ityādi* |). Brahmā (*pitāmaha*) among other things tells him as follows: *Antyāśrama-sthaḥ sakalendriyāṇi nirudhya bhaktyā sva-gurum praṇamya | hṛit-puṇḍarīkaṁ virajaṁ viśuddhaṁ vichintya madhye viśadaṁ viśokam | anantam avyaktam achintya-rūpaṁ śivam praśāntam amṛitam brahma-yonim | tam ādi-madhyānta-vihīnam ekaṁ vibhuṁ chidānanda-svarūpam adbhutam | Umāsahāyam parameśvaram prabhuṁ trilochanaṁ nīla-kaṇṭham praśāntam | dhyātvā munir gachhati bhūta-yoniṁ samasta-sākṣiṁ tamasaḥ parastāt | sa Brahmā sa Śivaḥ Sendraḥ so 'xaraḥ paramaḥ svarāṭ | sa eva Vishṇuḥ sa prāṇaḥ sa ātmā parameśvaraḥ* |[274] *sa eva sarvaṁ yad bhūtam yachcha bhavyaṁ sanātanam | jñātvā taṁ mṛityum atyeti nānyaḥ panthā vimuktaye | . . . . yaḥ śata-rudriyam adhīte so 'gnipūto bhavati sa Vāyu-pūto bhavati ityādi* | "A man in the last (or fourth) religious order (*i.e.* that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is] spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, inconceivable, auspicious (*śiva*), tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or, of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning, middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the wonderful, the supreme lord, the consort of Umā, the three-eyed, the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is Brahmā, he is Śiva, he is Indra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-resplendent; he is Vishṇu, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him, a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation." Further

[274] Another MS. has here *Sa kālo 'gniḥ sa Chandramāḥ*.

on it is said: "He who reads the Satarudriya becomes purified by fire, purified by air," etc. etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called the Nīlarudropanishad, which begins thus: *Apaśyaṁ chāvarohantaṁ divitaḥ pṛithivīmayaḥ | apaśyam apaśyaṁ taṁ Rudraṁ nīlagrivaṁ śikhaṇḍinam |* "I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, crested Rudra." This composition contains many verses from the Satarudriya.

SECT. VI.—*Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.*

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts from the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, etc., which exhibit the character of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 138, 147, 148, 153–170, 187–190, 194 f., 203 ff., 225 ff., 236 ff., and 241 ff.). I shall now adduce such other passages from the Itihāsas, or Purāṇas, as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the Rāmāyana i. 14, 1 ff.; i. 75, 14 ff.; and Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 138, 146 f., and 148 f. The other texts of the Rāmāyana in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following; and the representations which are there given of this god appear generally to bear a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyaṇa i. 25, 10 ff. (ed. Schl.), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid) who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerity; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (*ananga*). (*Kandarpo mūrttimān āsīt Kāma ity uchyate budhaiḥ | āveshṭum abhyagāt tūrṇaṁ kṛitodvāham Umāpatim | tapasyantam iha Sthāṇuṁ nimayena samāhitam | dharshayāmāsa durmedhā huṅkṛitaś cha mahātmanā | avadhyātasya Raudrena chaxushā Raghunandana | vyaśīryanta śarīrāt svāt sarva-gātrāṇi durmateḥ |*)

In i. 36, 20, it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the "unequalled Rudra" (*Rudrāya apratirūpāya*). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the connubial intercourse of Śiva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: *Purā Rāma kṛitodvāhaḥ Sitikaṇṭhaḥ mahātapāḥ | Umā cha sparddhayā devī maithunāyopachakratuḥ | tasya saṁkrīḍamānasya Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | Sitikaṇṭhasya devyāścha divyaṁ varsha-śataṁ gatam | evam manmatha-yuddhe tu tayor nāsīt parājayaḥ | na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyām āsīt parantapa |* "Formerly, after his marriage, Sitikaṇṭha (Śiva) the great devotee, and the goddess Umā, began to indulge emulously in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Sitikaṇṭha and the goddess were thus sporting. In this contest of love neither of them was overcome: nor, o Rāma, vexer of thy foes, was any son born to Umā." The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 292), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped Śiva and Umā, but the latter imprecated sterility on all their wives. The thirty-eighth section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Śiva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahmā and asked for a general in the room of Mahādeva who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (*i.e.* Mahādeva) is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (*yo naḥ senāpatir deva datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapaḥ param āsthāya tapyate sma sahomayā |*). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāśa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛittikās."

In the forty-third section it is related how king Bhagīratha performed austerity in order that the Gangā might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 41, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate Śiva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagīratha (as is told sect. 48) continued his austerities till Śiva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (*Paśupati*) appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himālaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, but came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagīratha, Śiva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths of the serpent Vāsuki, which was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Śiva to deliver them from this portent:

Atha devā Mahādevaṁ Śaṅkaraṁ śaraṇārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Paśupatiṁ Rudraṁ trāhi trāhīti tushṭuvuḥ | prādurāsīt tato 'traiva śaṅkha-chakra-gadādharaḥ | uvāchainaṁ smitaṁ kṛitvā Rudraṁ śūla-dharaṁ Hariḥ | daivatair mathyamāne tu yat pūrvaṁ samupasthitam | tat tvadīyaṁ sura-śreshṭha surāṇām agrajo hi yat | agra-pūjāṁ iha sthitvā gṛihāṇedaṁ visham prabho | ity uktvā cha sura-śreshṭhas tatraivāntaradhīyata | devatānām bhayaṁ dṛishṭvā śrutvā vākyaṁ tu Śārṅgiṇaḥ | halāhalaṁ vishaṁ ghoraṁ sañjagrāhāmṛitopamam | devān visṛijya deveśo jagāma bhagavān Haraḥ | "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahādeva, Śaṅkara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out] 'deliver, deliver.' Then Hari appeared on that very spot, bearing

the shell, the discus, and the mace, and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident: 'That which has first appeared, when the ocean was being churned by the deities, belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art the first-born among them. Standing here, receive, lord, this poison as the earliest offering.' Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Vishṇu, he (Śiva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed."

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Vishṇu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Vishṇu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Vishṇu carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhyā-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Śiva as residing there:

Kishk. 44, 27 ff.—*Taṁ tu śighram atikramya kāntāraṁ loma-harshaṇam | pāṇḍuraṁ draxyatha tataḥ Kailāśaṁ nāma parvatam | tatra pāṇḍura-meghābhaṁ Jāmbūnada-parishkṛitam | Kuvera-bhavanaṁ divyaṁ nirmitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇā |* "Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailāśa, and there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour like a brilliant cloud, and decorated with gold."

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio's recension of the Rāmāyana is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Calcutta edition):

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—*Taṁ tu deśam atikramya Triśriṅgo nāma parvataḥ | tasya pāde saro divyam mahat kāñchana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tīxṇa-śrotās taraṅgiṇī | nadī naika-grahākīrṇā kuṭilā loka-bhāvinī | tasyaikaṁ kāñchanaṁ śṛiṅgam parvatasyāgni-sannibham | vaidūryyamayam ekaṁcha śailasyāsya samuchhhṛitam | Anutpanneshu bhūteshu babhūva kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ Viśvakarmeti viśrutaḥ | tat tasya kila paurāṇam agnihotram mahātmanaḥ | āsīt triśikharaḥ śailaḥ pravṛittās tatra ye 'gnayaḥ | tatra sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarvamedhe mahāmakhe | kṛitvā 'bhavad mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila*

saṁsthānaṁ saro vai sārvamedhikam | tataḥ pravṛittā Sarayūr ghoranakravatī nadī | deva-gandharva-patagāḥ piśāchoraga-dānavāḥ | praviśanti na taṁ deśam pradīptam iva pāvakam | tam atikramya śailendram Mahādevābhipālitam | ityādi | "When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Tṛisṛinga [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of *lapis lazuli*. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient *agnihotra* sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandhavas, birds, Piśâchas, snakes, and Dânavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahâdeva," etc.

In regard to the legend of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purâṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5, 6, the story from the Nirukta in pp. 7, 8, above, and the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa xiii. 7, 1, 14, p. 1002:

Satapatha Brâhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—*Tena haitena Viśvakarmā Bhauvana ījе | teneshṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāṇi bhūtani idaṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati ya evam vidvān sarvamedhena yajate yo vaitad evaṁ veda |* 15. *Taṁ ha Kaśyapo yājayāñchakāra | tad api bhūmiḥ ślokaṁ jagau |* "*na mā martyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana manda āsitha | upamaṇxyati syā salilasya madhye mṛishaisha te saṇgaraḥ Kaśyapāya*" *iti |* "With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the *sarva-medha* ('universal sacrifice')—he who thus knows this. 15. Kaśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the earth

recited a verse:[275] 'No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kaśyapa is vain.'"

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter "became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds." Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 280 and 282, pp. 316 and 317. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, be regarded as sprung from the earth, and therefore not eternal.

In the following passage[276] Mahādeva is represented as paying a visit to Kuvera on mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divine character of Rama:

Ram. v. 89, 6 ff.—*Atha pradhāno dharmātmā lokānām īśvaraḥ prabhuḥ | tataḥ sabhāyām devasya rājño Vaiśravaṇasya saḥ | dhanādhyaxasabhāṁ devaḥ prāpto hi Vṛishhabha-dhvajaḥ | Umā-sahāyo deveśo gaṇaiś cha bahubhir vṛitaḥ | avatīryya vṛishāt tūrṇam mahitaḥ śūla-dhṛig vibhuḥ | gires tasya mahātejaḥ pravishṭas tu sabhāṁ Haraḥ | Ṛiddhyā sahāya-yuktaś cha tathā Vaiśravaṇaḥ svayam | anyonyaṁ tau samāliṅgya upavishṭāv ubhāv api | sabhāyāṁ tatra tau devau te cha devā yathākramam | upavishṭā gaṇāś chaiva yaxāś cha saha Guhyakaiḥ | axa-dyūtaṁ tatas tābhyām pravṛittaṁ samanantaram | etasminn antare tatra Rāxasendraṁ Vibhūshaṇam | dṛishṭvā Paulastyam āyāntaṁ Śivaḥ prāha dhaneśvaram | ayaṁ Vibhūshaṇaḥ prāptaḥ śaraṇam tava pārthiva | manyunā 'bhipluto vīro Rāsaxendra-vimānitaḥ | ityādi |*

[275] The commentator observes on this: *Asmai cha Viśvākarmā bhūmiṁ dātum iyesha tatra cha kāle bhūmir api imaṁ ślokaṁ gītavatī | ivaṁ tu mandaḥ manda-matir janaḥ ūshtha babhūvitha jāta ity arthaḥ | upa-śabdo ni-śabdasyārthe | yaś chāśakyam pratijānīte manda ity abhiprāyaḥ |* "Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him; and at that time the earth also sang this verse. Thou wast dull, dull of understanding. The preposition *upa* is here used in the sense of *ni*. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish." Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Vana-parva, v. 10209 (in the First Part of this work, p. 157), where the earth is said to have been given to Kaśyapa by Paraśurāma; and another text from the Anuśāsana-parva, vv. 7232 ff. (*ibid.* p. 164), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmans, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her and she became his daughter. Compare also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 23).

[276] This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devānāgari recension which corresponds to it—viz., vi. 17, 1, ff.

"Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Umā, and attended by numerous hosts, came then to the assembly of the divine king Vaiśravana (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (*Kailāsa*, v. 4); and at the same time Vaiśravana himself, with Ṛiddhi (? his wife), and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods and the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yaxas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the meantime, beholding the eminent Raxasa Vibhīshana, the son of Pulastya, approaching, Śiva says to the lord of riches, 'This, o king, is the hero Vibhishana, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Raxasas (Rāvaṇa)," etc. etc.

While Śiva is speaking, Vibhishana arrives, and bows down before the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rāxasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhishana stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Śiva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): *Taṁ dhyāyamānam bhagavān uvācha prabhur avyayaḥ | uttishṭhottishṭha rājendra sukham āpnuhi śāśvatam | . . . . 39. Tasmād uttishṭha gachha tvam purāṇam prabhum avyayam | ādhārāṁ sarvabhūtānāṁ śāśvataṁ niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nidhānaṁ cha gatir gatimatāṁ varaḥ | kṛitsnasya jagato mūlaṁ tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam |* "The divine, imperishable lord said: 'Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontrouled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the whole world: wherefore go to Rāghava (Rāma).'" Vibhishana then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.[277]

From the passage quoted above from the Mahābhārata in p. 241, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries

[277] In the following passages some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to:—iii. 30, 27 (ed. Calc.), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): *Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ Śvetāranye purā 'ndhakaḥ |* "[The Rāxasa] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was]

of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 224–246, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Daxa's sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vayu and other Purāṇas (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 61 ff.).

This story is told, perhaps, in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel):

Evam uktás tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmunim | śrūyatām asya dhanusho yad-artham iha tishṭhati | Devarāta iti khyāto Nimeḥ shashṭho mahīpatiḥ | nyāso 'yaṁ tasya bhagavan haste datto mahātmanaḥ | Daxa-yajña-badhe pūrvaṁ dhanur āyamya vīryavān | vidhvasya tridaśān Rudraḥ salīlam idam abravīt | "yasmād bhāgārthino bhāgān nākalpayata me surāḥ | varāṅgāni mahārhāṇi dhanushā śātayāmi vaḥ | tato vimanasaḥ sarve devā vai muni-puṅgava | prāsādayanta deveśaṁ teshām prīto 'bhavad Bhavaḥ | prītaśchāpi dadau teshaṁ tāny aṅgāni mahaujasām | dhanushā yāni yāny āsan śātitāni mahātmanā | tad etad deva-devasya dhanū-ratnam mahātmanaḥ | nyāsa-bhūtaṁ tadā nyastaṁ asmākam pūrvake vibho | [278]

formerly consumed by Rudra in the S'veta forest." iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): *Yathā kruddhasya Rudrasya Tripuraṁ vai vijigyushaḥ* | "[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura." vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): The Rākxasa trembled when smitten by Laxmana's arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra" (*Rudra-vāṇāhataṁ ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuram* |). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi. 73, 37 f. *Hatair aśvaiḥ padātaiś cha tad babhūva raṇājiram | ākrīḍa iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paśūn* | "With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals." I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 55, 88 (Gorr.): *Kumbhasya patato rūpaṁ bhagnasyorasi mushṭinā | Īśvareṇābhipannasya rūpam Paśupater iva* | "The appearance of Kumbha when struck on the chest by the fist of Sugrīva, was like the appearance of Paśupati (S'iva) when overcome by Iśvara." The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: *Iśvareṇa pralaya-kālena hetunā abhipannasya lokān abhisrastasya Paśupate Rudrasya rūpam iva rūpam babhūva ity arthaḥ* | The Calc. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: *babhau Rudrābhipannasya yathā rūpaṁ Gavāmpateḥ* | which the commentator renders, "appeared like the form of the sun, overcome by Rudra."

[278] This last line runs as follows in Gorresio's edition (ch. lxviii. 13): *Tishṭhaty adyāpi bhagavan kule 'smakaṁ supūjitam* | The other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.

"Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: 'Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Devarāta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Daxa's sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spake in derision: *Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your principal and most precious limbs with my bow.* Then all the deities, being distressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.'"

In this version of the myth there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Vīrabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.[279]

The same story is told in greater detail in the Sānti-parva of the Mahābhārata, in verses 10226–10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of *Jvara*, Fever), Umā, Śiva's wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, enquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daxa's horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies: *Surair eva mahābhāge pūrvam etad anushṭhitam | yajñeshu sarveshu mama na bhāga*

[279] This same version of the story is again alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmayaṇa:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr.): *Taṁ dṛishṭvā tejasā yuktaṁ vivyathur vana-devatāḥ | Daxasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatāstraṁ Pināk inam* | "Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pināk in (Śiva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daxa." Ibid. 70, 2: *Hantu-kāmam paśuṁ Rudraṁ kruddhaṁ Daxa-kratau yathā* | And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): *Tato viśphārayāmāsa Rāmas tad dhānur uttamam | bhagavān iva saṁkruddho Bhavaḥ kratu-jighāṁsayā* | "Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice." Rudra's followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said: *Sa taiḥ parivṛito ghorai rākṣasair nṛi-varātmajaḥ | Mahādevaḥ pitṛi-vane gaṇaiḥ pārśva-gatair iva* | "This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rākṣasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery." And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) Śiva is called the lord of demons (*gṛihaṁ Bhūtapater iva*).

upakalpitaḥ | pūrvopāyopapannena mārgeṇa varavarṇini | na me surāḥ prayachhanti bhāgaṁ yajñasya dharmataḥ | "The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, arising out of early arrangements, the gods lawfully (*dharmataḥ*) allot me no share in the sacrifice." Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, Śiva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Śiva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born *Jvara* (fever) which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to Śiva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (*bhavato 'hi suraḥ sarve bhāgaṁ dāsyanti vai prabho*), and proposes that *Jvara* (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Śiva is propitiated, and assents to Brahma's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (*ity ukto Brahmaṇā devo bhāge chāpi prakalpite | bhagavantaṁ tathety āha . . . . parāñcha prītim agamad utsmayaṁścha Pināka-dhṛik | avāpa cha tadā bhāgaṁ yatholctam Brahmaṇā Bhavaḥ*).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daxa formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himālaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dadhīchi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. *Tān dṛishṭvā manyunā "vishto Dadhīchir vākyām abravīt | "nāyaṁ yajño na vā dharmo yatra Rudro na ijyate | badhā-bandham prāpannā vai kinnu kālasya paryyayaḥ | kinnu mohād na paśyanti vināśam paryyupasthitam | upasthitam mahāghoraṁ na budhyanti mahādhvare" | Ity uktvā sa mahā-yogī paśyati dhyāna-chaxushā | sa paśyati Mahādevaṁ devīñcha vara-dām śubhām | Nāradaṅcha mahātmānaṁ tasyā devyāḥ samīpataḥ | santoshaṁ paramaṁ lebhe iti niśchitya yoga-vit | eka-mantrās tu te sarve yeneśo na nimantritaḥ | tasmād deśād apākramya Dadhīchir vākyam abravīt | apūjya-pūjanāchchaiva pūjyānāñchāpy apūjanāt | nṛi-ghātaka-samaṁ pāpaṁ śaśvat prāpnoti mānavaḥ | anṛitaṁ nokta-pūrvam me na cha vaxye kadāchana | devatānām ṛishīnāṁ cha madhye satyam bravīmy aham | āgatam Paśubharttāraṁ srashṭāraṁ jagataḥ patim | adhvare yajña-bhoktāraṁ sarveshām paśyata prabhum | Daxa uvācha | Santi no bahavo*

Rudrāḥ śūla-hastāḥ kapardinaḥ | ekādaśa-sthāna-gatā nāhaṁ vedmi Maheśvaram | Dadhīchir uvacha | sarveshām eva mantro 'yaṁ yenāsau na nimantritaḥ | yathā 'ham Śaṅkarād ūrddhvaṁ nānyam paśyāmi daivatam | tathā Daxasya vipulo yajño 'yaṁ na bhavishyati | Daxa uvācha | etan makheśāya suvarṇa-pātre haviḥ samastaṁ vidhi-mantra-pūtam | Vishṇor nayāmy apratimasya bhāgam prabhur vibhuś chāhavanīya eshaḥ | Devy uvācha | kim nāma dānaṁ vishamaṁ tapo vā kuryām ahaṁ yena patir mamādya | labheta bhāgam bhagavān achintyo arddham tathā bhāgam atho tritīyam | evam bruvāṇām bhagavān sva-patnīm prahṛishṭa-rūpaḥ xubhitām uvācha | na vetsi māṁ devi kriśodarāṅgi kim nāma yuktaṁ vachanam makhośe | ahaṁ vijānāmi viśāla-netre dhyānena hīnā na vidanty asantaḥ | tavādya mohena cha sendra-devā lokās trayaḥ sarvata eva mūḍhāḥ | mām adhvare śaṁsitāraḥ stuvanti rathantaraṁ sāma-gāś chopagānti | mām brāhmaṇā brahma-vido yajante mamādhvaryavaḥ kalpayante cha bhāgam | Devy uvācha | suprākṛito 'pi purusho sarvaḥ strī-jana-saṁsadi | stauti garvāyate chāpi svam ātmānam na saṁśayaḥ | Bhagavān uvācha | nātmānaṁ staumi deveśi paśya me tanu-madhyame | yaṁ sraxyāmi varāroho yāgārthe vara-varṇini |

"Beholding them, Dadhīchi, filled with indignation, thus spake: 'This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is not worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds of destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.' Having so spoken, this great devotee beholds with the eye of contemplation: he sees Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchi, versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus: 'By worshipping that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship that which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever utter, falsehood. Among gods and rishis I declare the truth. Behold Paśubharttri (Śiva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.' Daxa replied: 'We have many Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing braided hair, who occupy

eleven places. I know not Maheśvara.' Dadhīchi answered: 'Owing to this preconcerted plan of all [the gods] (*lit.* this is a device of them all, by which) he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Śankara, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daxa shall not be prosperous.' Daxa spake: 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Vishnu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Vishṇu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificial fire.'[280] Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible, husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, o large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of reflection, know not: and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy bewilderment. Worshippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmans, versed in the veda (*brahma*), adore me, and *adhvaryu* (*i.e.* Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.[281] Devī replied: 'Doubtless, every common man

[280] Prof. Wilson (p. 63) has the following note on the parallel passage of the Vāyu Purāṇa: "The Kūrma Purāṇa gives also this discussion between Dadhīcha and Daxa, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daxa, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Śiva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (*sarveshv eva hi yajñeshu na bhāgaḥ parikalpitaḥ | na mantrā bhāryyayā sārddhaṁ Śaṅkarasyeti neshyate |*) Dadhīcha apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the Vedas (*sa stūyate sahasrāṁśuḥ sāmagādhvaryyu-hotṛibhiḥ | paśyainaṁ Viśvakarmāṇaṁ Rudraṁ mūrtti-trayīmayam |*) Daxa replies that the twelve Adityas receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (*ye ete dvādaśādityā Āditya-yajña-bhāginaḥ | sarve sūryyā iti j̃ñeyā na hy anyo vidyate raviḥ | evaṁ ukte tu munayaḥ samāyātā didṛixavaḥ | vāḍham ity abruvan Daxaṁ tasya śāhāyya-kāriṇaḥ |*) These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the Padma P. and Bhāgavata, as they place Daxa's neglect of Śiva to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc. etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.

[281] The text of the Vāyu Purāṇa as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 66) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has been copied for me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikowar MS. in the India Office

praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.' Mahādeva answered: 'I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.' Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daxa's preparations for his sacrifice. Brahmā and the other gods humbly enquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Vīrabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god:' (*varaṁ krodho 'pi devasya vara-dānaṁ na chānyataḥ*). Upon this Daxa sings the praises of Maheśvara.[282] The latter then appears, and assents to Daxa's request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless. Daxa then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2–7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābharata. Satī, the wife of Śiva, was the daughter of Daxa, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): *Prasūtim Mānavīṁ Daxa upayeme hy Ajātmajaḥ | tasyāṁ sasarjja duhitṛīḥ shoḍaśāmala-lochanāḥ | trayodaśādād Dharmāya tathaikām Agnaye vibhuḥ | pitṛibhya ekāṁ yuktebhyo Bhavāyaikām bhava-chhide |* "Daxa, the son of Aja (the 'unborn'—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahmā=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. On her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of these this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united] Pitṛis, and one to Bhava (Śiva), the destroyer of existence." Satī, however, bore no children to Śiva. 64. *Bhavasya patnī tu Satī Bhavaṁ devam anuvratā | ātmanaḥ sadriśam putraṁ na lebhe guṇa-śīlataḥ |*

Library, and is as follows: *Mamādhvare śaṁsitāraḥ stuvanti rathantare sāma gāyanti geyam | abrāhmaṇe brahma-satre yajante mamādhvaryyavaḥ kalpayante cha bhāgam* | "At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the *rathantara* they sing the *sāma* song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahmans; and the *adhvaryyu* priests divide for me a portion." It is remarkable that Mahādeva's worship should be here described as performed *without Brahmans*.

[282] In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (*Devo nāhūyate tatra Viśvakarmā Maheśvaraḥ*). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, above, p. 308 f., and note 280. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daxa had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again.

In the second section we are informed how enmity arose between Mahādeva and his father-in-law Daxa. It appears that the gods and rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajāpatis. On the entrance of Daxa, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, excepting only Viriñcha (Brahmā) and Mahādeva. Daxa, after making his obeisance to Brahmā, sat down by his command; but was offended at the treatment he received from Śiva (iv. 2, 8 ff.): *Prāṇ nishaṇṇam Mṛidaṁ dṛishṭvā nāmṛishat tad-anādṛitaḥ | uvācha vāmaṁ chaxurbhyām abhivīxya dahann iva | śrūyatām brahmarshayo me saha-devāḥ sahāgnayaḥ | sādhūnām bruvato vṛittam nājñānād na cha mātsarāt | ayaṁ tu loka-pālānāṁ yaśo-ghno nirapatrapaḥ | sadbhir ācharitaḥ panthā yena stabdhena dūshitaḥ | esha me śishyatām prāpto yan me duhitur agrahīt | pāṇim viprāgni-mukhataḥ sāvitryā iva sādhu-vat | gṛihītvā mṛiga-śāvāxyāḥ pāṇim markaṭa-locha-anaḥ | pratyuthānābhivādārhe vachā 'py akṛita nochitam | lupta-kriyāyāśuchaye māninе bhinna-setave | anichhann apy adāṁ bālāṁ śūdrāyevosha-tīṁ giram | pretāvāseshu ghoreshu pretair bhūta-gaṇair vṛitaḥ | aṭaty unmatta-vad nagno vyupta-keśo hasan rudan | chitā-bhasma-kṛita-snānaḥ preta-sraṇ nrasthi-bhūshaṇaḥ | śivāpadeśo hy aśivo matto matta-jana-priyaḥ | patiḥ pramatha-bhūtānāṁ tamo-mātrātmakātmanām | tasmā unmāda-nāthāya nashṭa-śauchāya durhṛide | dattā mayā vata sādhvī chodite parameshṭhinā | vinindyaivaṁ sa Giriśam apratīpam avasthitam | Daxo 'thāpa upaspṛiśya kruddhaḥ śaptum prachakrame | ayaṁ tu deva-yajane Indropendrādibhir Bhavaḥ | saha bhāgaṁ na labhatāṁ devair deva-gaṇādhamaḥ |* "Beholding Mṛida (Śiva) previously seated, Daxa did not brook his want of respect; and looking at him obliquely with his eyes, as if consuming him, thus spake: 'Hear me, ye Brahman rishis, with the gods and the Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless being (Śiva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the world,—he by whom, hardened as he is, the course pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inasmuch as, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmans and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Sāvitrī. This monkey-eyed [god], after having taken the hand of [my] fawn-eyed [daughter], has not even by word shewn suitable respect to me whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave my daughter to this impure and proud abolisher of rites and

demolisher of barriers, like the word of the Veda [283] to a Śūdra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, smeared (*lit.* bathed) with the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men's [skulls], and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be *Śiva* (auspicious) but in reality *Aśiva* (inauspicious), insane, beloved by the insane, the lord of Pramathas and Bhūtas (sprites), beings whose nature is essentially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose purity has perished, I have, alas! given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahmā.' [284] Having thus reviled Giriśa (Śiva), who did not oppose him, Daxa having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him [thus]: 'Let this Bhava (Śiva), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (Vishṇu), and others." Having delivered his malediction, Daxa doparted. A counter-malediction, as follows, was then uttered upon him and the Brahmans who took his part, by Nandīśvara, one of the chief of Mahādeva's followers:

[283] *Ūśatīm giram*, which the commentator explains *veda-lakṣaṇām giram*. It does not appear how *uśatī* has this sense. In Wilson's Dictionary the participle *uśat* has the sense of "inauspicious" (as discourse) assigned to it.

[284] The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this abuse:—*Vāstavas tv ayam arthaḥ | luptāḥ kriyāḥ yasmin para-brahma-rūpatvāt | ata eva nāsti śuchir yasmāt | amānine abhinna-setave iti cha chhedaḥ | tasya parameśvarasya madīyā mānushī kanyā kathaṁ yogyā syād iti lajjādinā dātum anichchhann api tat-sambandha-lobhena dattavān | 'śūdrāyeti' anarhatva-mātre dṛishṭānto na hīnatve pūrvāpara-sva-vachana-virodhāpatteḥ | etad uktam bhavati | yathā kaśchit śūdrāya vedam artha-lobhena dadāti | 'preṭāvāseshv' ityādi sarvaṁ vidambana-mātram iti | svayam evāha 'unmatta-vad' iti | anyathā 'unmatta' ity evāvaxyat | 'aśivaḥ' nāsti śivo yasmāt | amattaḥ | amatta jana-priyaḥ | iti chhedaḥ | 'patiḥ pramatha-bhūtānām' iti bhakta-vātsalyam āha | tāmasān api dosham apanīya pāti iti nashṭānām api śauchaṁ śuddhir yasmāt | dushṭeshe apy ete mayā anukampyā iti hṛin mano yasya sa durhṛit tasmai | 'vata' iti harshe | Brahmaṇo vākyā[l.?] lajjā-bhayādikam parityajya dattā ity arthaḥ |* "The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: 'He in whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence of which there is none purer than he.' Instead of *mānine* and *bhinna-setave*, the division of words may also be *amānine, abhinna-setave*, 'not proud,' 'not demolisher of barriers.' Though unwilling to give my daughter through modesty, etc., from a feeling that my human daughter could not be worthy of the supreme lord, I nevertholess gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words 'as to a Śūdra' are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness, otherwise there would be a contradiction between his preceding and his following words. The sense is this: 'just as any one through covetousness of money gives the Veda to a Śūdra.' The

21 ff.—*Ya etam martyam uddiśya bhagavaty apratidruhi | druhyaty ajñaḥ pṛithag-dṛishṭis tattvato vimukho bhavet | gṛiheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu sakto grāmya-sukhechhayā | karma-tantraṁ vitanutād*[285] *veda-vāda-vipannadhīḥ | buddhyā parābhidhyāyinyā vismṛitātma-gatiḥ paśuḥ | strī-kāmaḥ so 'stu nitarāṁ Daxo vasta-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyāṁ karmamayyām asau jaḍaḥ | saṁsarantv iha ye chāmum anu Sarvāvamāninam | giraḥ śrutāyāḥ pushpiṇyā madhu-gandhena bhūriṇā | mathnā chonmathitātmānaḥ sammuhyantu Hara-dvishaḥ | sarva-bhaxā dvijā vṛittyai dhṛita-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmā yāchakā vicharantv iha* |. "May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Daxa), and considering [Śiva] as distinct [from the supreme spirit],—hates the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth. Devoted to domestic occupations and low duties, from a desire of vulgar pleasures, let him practise the round of ceremonies, with an understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions.[286] Forgetting the nature of soul with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daxa, brutal, be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat. Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those who follow this contemner of Sarva (Śiva), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Śiva), whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brahmans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!"

words 'in cemeteries,' etc., are a mere disguise. He himself says '*like* a madman.' Otherwise he would have said 'a madman.' *Aśiva*, un-fortunate, means he than whom none is more fortunate. The words *matta* and *matta-jana-priya* should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean '*not* insane,' 'beloved by the *not*-insane.' The words 'lord of Pramathas,' etc., intimate his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. *Nashṭa-śauchāya* means that from him comes purity to the depraved. *Durhṛit* means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that, even these among the wicked are to be compassionated by me.' *Vata* intimates joy. 'Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter:' such is the sense."

[285] This is Burnouf's reading. The Bombay edition reads *vitanute*.

[286] This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the Śaivas, that their worship was not very consistent with their own most venerated Scriptures.

The wrath of Bhṛigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse:

27 ff.—*Tasyaivaṁ dadataḥ śāpaṁ śrutvā dvija-kulāya vai | Bhṛiguḥ pratyasṛijach chhāpam brahma-daṇḍaṁ duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dharā ye cha ye cha tān samanuvratāḥ | pāshaṇḍinas te bhavantu sachchhāstra-paripanthinaḥ | nashṭa-śauchā mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhasmāsthi-dhāriṇaḥ | viśantu Siva-dīxāyaṁ yatra daivaṁ surāsavam | brahmā cha brāhmaṇāṁś chaiva yad yūyam parinindatha | setum vidhāraṇam puṁsām ataḥ pāshaṇḍam āśritāḥ | esha eva hi lokānāṁ śivaḥ panthā sanātanaḥ | yam pūrve chānusaṁtasthur yat-pramāṇaṁ Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramaṁ śuddhaṁ satām vartma sanātanam | vigarhya yāta pāshaṇḍaṁ daivaṁ vo yatra bhūta-rāṭ.* | "Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe of Brahmans, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical weapon, hard to be evaded: 'Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile the veda (*brahma*) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [veda] is the auspicious (*śiva*) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and wherein Janārdana (Vishṇu) is the authority. Reviling this veda (*brahma*), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.'"

On hearing this imprecation, Śiva departed with his followers, while Daxa and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifice in which Vishṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues (sect. 3). Daxa being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called Vṛihaspatisava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this sacrifice, Satī presses her husband, Śiva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes; but being slighted by her father, Daxa, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected

with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Śiva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daxa to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a *yajus* text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (*yajña-ghna-ghnena yajushā daxiṇāgnau juhāva ha*). A troop of Ṛibhus in consequence spring up, who put Śiva's followers to flight. Śiva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Satī (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daxa and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Śiva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. *Rurujur yajña-pātrāṇi tathaike 'gnīn anāśayan | kuṇḍeshv amūtrayan keshid bibhidur vedi-mekhalāḥ | abādhanta munīn anye eke patnīr atarjayan | apare jigṛihur devān pratyāsannān palāyitān | . . . . juhvataḥ sruva-hastasya śmaśrūṇi bhagavān Bhavaḥ | Bhṛigor luluñche sadasi yo 'hasat śmaśru darśayan | Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātitasya rushā bhuvi | ujjahāra sadaḥstho 'xṇā yaḥ śapantam asūśuchat | Pūshṇaś chāpātayad dantān Kāliṅgasya yathā Balaḥ | śapyamāne garimaṇi*[287] *yo 'hasad darśayan dataḥ* | "Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled. The divine Bhava (Śiva) plucked out the beard of Bhṛigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, shewing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who when in the assembly had made a signal to [Daxa when] cursing [Śiva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's) who (Pūshan) had laughed, shewing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed." Śiva then cuts off the head of Daxa, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā), who, with Vishṇu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmā advises the gods to propitiate Śiva, to whom they had wrongfully refused a share in the sacrifice (*athāpi yūyaṁ kṛita-kilvishā Bhavaṁ ye barhisho bhāga-bhājam parāduḥ*). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Śiva "bearing the liṅga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an

[287] *Garimaṇi gurutare Rudre* | Comm.

antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud" (*liṅgañcha tāpasābhīshṭam bhasma-daṇḍa-jaṭājinam | aṅgena sandhyā-'bhra-ruchā chandra-lekhāñcha bibhratam |*). Brahmā addresses Mahādeva "as the eternal Brahma,—the lord of Sakti and Siva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Siva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them:" (*jāne tvām īśaṁ viśvasya jagato yoni-vījayoḥ | Saktes Sivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nirantaram | tvam eva bhagavann etach Chhiva-Saktyoḥ sarūpayoḥ | viśvaṁ sṛijasi pāsy atsi krīḍann ūrṇa-paṭo yathā*). Brahmā adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daxa, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (*na yatra bhāgaṁ tava bhāgino daduḥ kuyajvinaḥ*). Mahādeva partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Daxa to have the beard of a goat, Bhaga to see with Mitra's eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bhṛigu to have a he-goat's beard, etc. Daxa, after having had a goat's head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of Siva. The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva's warriors, an oblation is made to Vishṇu in three cups (*Vaishṇavaṁ yajña-santatyai trikapālaṁ dvijottamāḥ | puroḍāśaṁ niravapan vīra-saṁsarga-śuddhaye*). Hari (Vishṇu) being meditated on, then appears, is saluted with the greatest reverence by Brahmā, Indra, and Siva (*Tryaxanāyaka*); is lauded successively by Daxa, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc. etc., and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Daxa and Mahādeva, and to shew that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations:

Śrī-Bhagavān uvācha.| aham Brahmā cha Sarvaś cha jagataḥ kāraṇam param | ātmeśvara upadrashṭā svayaṁdṛig aviśeshaṇaḥ | ātma-māyāṁ amāviśya so 'ham guṇamayīṁ dvija | sṛijan rakṣan haran viśvaṁ dadhre saṁjñāṁ kriyochitām | tasmin Brahmany advitīye kevale paramātmani | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhūtāni bhedenājño 'nupaśyati | yathā pumān na svāṅgeshu śiraḥ-pāṇy-ādishu kvachit | pārakya-buddhiṁ kurute evam bhū-

teshu mat-paraḥ | "I am Brahmā and Sarva (Śiva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting, (or, self-beholding) devoid of attributes. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the three *guṇas* (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. In that one and only Brahmā, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahmā and Rudra, and creatures. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me]."

Daxa, after adoring Vishṇu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice. Satī, the daughter of Daxa, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (*evaṁ Dākṣāyaṇī hitvā Satī pūrva-kalevaram* | *jajñe Himavataḥ xetre Menāyām iti śuśruma* |).[288]

The Śaiva compiler of the Liṅga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaishnava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Vishṇu at the expense of Śiva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahmā and Vishṇu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

[288] The same account of Satī's double birth is given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 8, 9 ff.: *Evam-prakāro Rudro 'sau Satīm bhāryyām avindata* | *Daxa-kopāchcha tatyāja sā Satī svaṁ kalevaram* | *Himavad-duhitā sā 'bhūd Menāyāṁ dvija-sattama* | *upayeme punaś chomāṁ ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ* | "Rudra, being of the character thus described (*i.e.* one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmā: see above, p. 286) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Daxa. She then became as the daughter of Himavat and Menā; and the divine Bhava again married Umā who was identical [with his former spouse]." In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Daxa; but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated among the *Muṇis* to whom Daxa's daughters were wedded: *Tābhyaḥ śishṭāḥ kanīyasya ekādaśa sulochanāḥ* | *Khyātiḥ Saty atha Sambhūtiḥ Smṛitiḥ Prītiḥ Xamā tathā* | *Sannatiś chānusūyā cha Ūrjja Svāhā Svadhā tathā* | *Bhṛigur Bhavo Marīchiś cha tathā chaivāṅgirā muniḥ* | *Pulastyaḥ Pulahaś chaiva Kratuś charshi-varas tathā* | *Atrir Vasishṭho Vahniś cha Pitaraś cha yathā-kramam* | *Khyāty-ādyā jagṛihuḥ kanyā munayo muni-sattama* | "Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daxa) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyāti, *Satī*, Sambhūti, Smṛiti, Prīti, Xamā, Sannati, Anusūyā, Ūrjjā, Svāhā, and Svadhā. Bhṛigu, *Bhava*, Marīchi, the muni Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Vahni (*i.e.* Agni or Fire), and the Pitris,—these *munis* in order married Khyāti and the other maidens."

Liṅga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva:

Liṅga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5 ff.—*Pitāmaha uvācha | Pradhānaṁ liṅgam ākhyātaṁ liṅgī cha parameśvaraḥ | raxārtham ambudhau mahyaṁ Vishṇos tv āsīt surottamāḥ | vaimānike gate sarge jana-lokaṁ saharshibhiḥ | sthiti-kāle tadā pūrṇe tataḥ pratyāhṛite tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrānte satya-lokaṁ gate surāḥ | vinā 'dhipatyaṁ samatāṁ gate 'nte Brahmaṇo mama | śushke cha sthāvare sarve tv anāvṛishtyā cha sarvaśaḥ | paśavo mānushā vṛixāḥ piśāchāḥ piśitāśanāḥ | gandharvādyāḥ krameṇaiva nirdagdhā bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekārṇave mahāghore tamo-bhūte samantataḥ | pushṭe (?) hy ambhasi yogātmā nirmalo nirupaplavaḥ | sahasra-śīrshā viśvātmā sahasrāxaḥ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarvajñaḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ | Hiraṇyagarbho rajasā tamasā Śaṅkaraḥ svayam | sattvena sarvago Vishṇuḥ sarvātmatve Maheśvaraḥ | kālātmā kāla-nābhas tu śuklaḥ kṛishṇas tu nirguṇaḥ | Nārāyaṇo mahābāhuḥ sarvātmā sadasanmayaḥ | tathā bhūtam ahaṁ dṛishṭvā śayānam pankajexaṇam | māyayā mohitas tasya tam avocham amarshitaḥ | kas tvaṁ vadasi hastena samutthāpya sanātanam | tadā hasta-prahāreṇa tīvreṇa sa dṛidhena tu | prabuddho 'hīya-śayanāt samāsīnaḥ xaṇaṁ vaśī | dadarśa nidrā-viklinnaṁ nīrajāmala-lochanaḥ | mām agre saṁsthitam bhāsādhyāsito bhagavān Hariḥ | āha chotthāya bhagavān hasan mām madhuraṁ sakṛit | svāgataṁ svāgataṁ vatsa pitāmaha mahā-dyute | tasya tad vachanaṁ śrutvā smita-pūrvam surarshabhāḥ | rajasā viddha-vairaś cha tam avochaṁ Janārdanam | bhāshase vatsa vatseti sarga-saṁhāra-kāraṇam | mām ihāntaḥ-smitaṁ kṛitvā guruḥ śishyam ivānagha | karttāraṁ jagatāṁ sākṣāt prakṛitiścha pravarttakam | sanātanam ajaṁ Vishṇuṁ Viriñchiṁ viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānaṁ vidhātāraṁ dhātāram paṅkajexaṇam | kimartham bhāshase mohād vaktum arhasi satvaram | so 'pi mām āha jagatāṁ karttā 'ham iti lokaya | bharttā karttā bhavān aṅgad avatīrṇo mamāvyayāt | vismṛito 'si jagannāthaṁ Nārāyaṇam anāmayam | purusham paramātmānam pura-hūtam purushṭutam | Vishṇum achyutam īśānaṁ viśvasya prabhavodbhavam | tavāparādho nāsty atra mama māyā-kṛitaṁ tv idam | śṛiṇu satyaṁ chaturvaktra sarva-deveśvaro hy aham | karttā netā 'cha harttā cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhuḥ | aham eva paraṁ Brahma paraṁ tattvam pitāmaha | aham eva paraṁ jyotiḥ paramātmā tv ahaṁ vibhuḥ | yad yad dṛishṭaṁ śrutaṁ sarvaṁ jagaty asmiṅś charāchcharam | tat tad viddhi chaturvaktra sarvam manmayam ity atha | mayā sṛishṭam purā vyaktaṁ chaturviṁśatikaṁ svayam | nityāntā hy*

aṇavo baddhāḥ sṛishtāḥ krodhodbhavādayaḥ | prasādād hi bhavān aṇḍāny anekānīha līlayā | sṛishṭā buddhir mayā tasyām ahaṇkāras tridhā tataḥ | tanmātra-pañchakaṁ tasmād mano dehendriyāṇi cha | ākāśādīni bhūtāni bhautikāni cha līlayā | ity uktavati tasmiṁś cha mayi chāpi vachas tathā | āvayoś chābhavad yuddhaṁ sughoraṁ romaharshaṇam | pralayārṇava-madhye tu rajasā baddha-vairayoḥ | etasminn antare liṇgam abhavach-chāvayoḥ puraḥ | vivāda-śamanārthaṁ hi prabodhārthaṁ tathāvayoḥ | jvāla-mālā-sahasrāḍhyaṁ kālānala-śatopamam | xaya-vṛiddhi-vinirmuktam ādi-madhyānta-varjitam | anaupamyam anirdeśyam avyaktaṁ viśva-sambhavam | tasya jvālā-sahasreṇa mohito bhagavān Hariḥ | mohitaṁ prāha mām atra parīxāvo 'gni-sambhavam | adho gamishyāmy anala-stambhasyānupamasya cha | bhavān ūrddham prayatnena gantum arhasi (SIC) *satvaram | eṭaṁ vyāhṛitya viśvātmā svarūpam akarot tadā | vārāham aham apy āśu haṁsatvam prāptavān surāḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti mām āhur haṁsaṁ haṁso virāḍ iti | haṁsa haṁseti yo brūyād māṁ haṁsaḥ sa bhavishyati | suśveto hy analāxaś cha viśvataḥ paxa-saṁyutaḥ | mano-'nila-javo bhūtvā gato 'haṁ chorddhvataḥ surāḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi viśvātmā nīlāñjana-chayopāmam | daśa-yojana-vistīrṇaṁ śata-yojanam āyatam | Meru-parvata-varshmāṇaṁ gaura-tīxṇāgra-dashṭriṇam | kālāditya-samābhāsaṁ dīrgha-ghoṇam mahāsvanam | hrasva-pādaṁ vichitrāṅgaṁ jaitraṁ dṛiḍham anaupamam | vārāham asitam rūpam āsthāya gatavān adhaḥ | evaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu tvaran Vishṇur adho gataḥ | nāpaśyad alpam apy asya mūlaṁ liṅgasya sūkaraḥ | tāvat kālaṁ gato hy ūrddvam aham apy arisūdanāḥ | satvaram sarva-yatnena tasyāntaṁ jñātum ichhayā | śrānto hy adṛishtvā tasyāntam ahaṇkārād*[289] *adho gataḥ | tathaiva bhagavān Vishṇuḥ śrāntaḥ saṁtrasta-lochanaḥ | sarva-deva-bhavas tūrṇam utthitaḥ sa mahāvapuḥ | samāgato mayā sārddham praṇipatya mahā-manāḥ*[290] *| māyayā mohitaḥ Sambhos tathā samvigna-mānasaḥ | pṛishṭhataḥ pārśvataś chaiva chāgrataḥ parameśvaram | praṇipatya mayā sārddhaṁ sasmāra kim idaṁ tv iti | tadā samabhavat tatra nādo vai śabda-laxaṇaḥ | om om iti sura-śreshṭhāḥ suvyaktaḥ pluta-laxaṇaḥ | kim idam tv iti saṁchintya mayā tishṭhan mahāsvanam | liṅgasya daxiṇe bhāge tadā 'paśyat sanātanam | ādyaṁ varṇam a-kāraṁ tu u-kāraṁ chottare tataḥ | ma-kāram madhyataś chaiva nādāntaṁ tasya chom iti |*

[289] In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my *Mataparīxā*, the reading is *ahaṁ kālād*, which seems a preferable reading.

[290] *bhayād muhuḥ*—reading in the Mataparīxā.

"Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an enquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhāna (nature) is called the *Liṅga*, and Parameśvara is called Liṅgī[291] (the sustainer of the Liṅga). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishṇu in the ocean, o deities. When the *Vaimānika*[292] creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka,[293] and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them,[294] and all immoveable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps[295] upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (*rajas*) Hiranyagarbha, through darkness (*tamas*) Śankara, through goodness (*sattva*) the all-pervading Vishṇu, and in his universality Maheśvara, having the character of time, the name of time, white, black, free from the three qualities. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, 'Welcome,

[291] *Liṅgādhishṭhānam* | Comm.

[292] *Vaimānike sarge deva-sarge* | Comm.

[293] "The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the Vayu, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahmā," etc.—Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 213, note; see also the same Work, p. 632, and note 7.

[294] *Lit.* 'the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion.'

[295] The reading of the Bombay text is here *pushṭe*; but some such word as *śete* "sleeps," seems to be required by the sense.

welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, o deities, my illwill being excited by passion (*rajas*), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, o sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words *child, child,* to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakriti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu,[296] Viriñchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Purusha, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, o four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is no lord equal to me. I, even I, o Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahmā, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit. Whatever thing, moveable or immoveable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, o four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtile] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath[297] (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacence thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (*buddhi*) has been created by me in sport, and then from it three-fold *ahankāra*: from it the five *tanmātras*, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a direful and terrific fight arose in the sea of universal dissolution[298] between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous *Liṅga*, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incom-

[296] Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.

[297] See above, p. 225 f.

[298] See the commencement of this extract.

parable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan. Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj.[399] Whoever shall call me 'Hansa, Hansa,' shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyana too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Vishṇu, the boar, beheld no base at all of the *Liṅga*. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, o destroyer of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, and so too the divine Vishṇu of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn-out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of Sambhu (Śiva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Parameśvara (Śiva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, 'What is this?' Then, o chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound *om, om*, distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the *Liṅga;* the first letter *a-kāra*, after it *u-kāra*, *ma-kāra* in the centre, and *Om* as the result of the sounds.'"

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word *om* and the other letters of the alphabet, etc. etc.

The eighteenth section contains a hymn addressed by Vishṇu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Vishṇu that they had both sprung from him, offers them a boon, and touches them

[399] See the First Vol. of this work, pp. 7 and 15.

with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṇa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original:

Liṇga Purāṇa, 18, 8 ff.—*Jānubhyam avanīm̃ gatvā punar Nārāyanāḥ svayam | praṇipatya cha Viśveśam prāha mandataraṁ vaśī | āvayor deva-deveśa vivādam ati-śobhanam | ihāgato bhavān yasmad vivāda-śamanāya nau | tasya tad-vachanam̃ śrutvā punaḥ prāha Haro Harim | praṇipatya sthitam mūrdhnā kṛitāñjali-puṭam smayan | Śrī-mahādeva uvācha | pralaya-sthiti-sargāṇam̃ karttā tvam̃ dharaṇīpate | vatsa vatsa Hare Vishṇo pālayaitach charāchavam | tridhā bhinno hy aham̃ Vishṇo Brahma-Vishṇu Bhavākhyayā | sarga-rajā-laya-guṇair nishkalaḥ parameśvaraḥ | sammoham̃ tyaja bho Vishṇo pālayainam Pitāmaham | pādme bhavishyati sutaḥ kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ | tadā draxyasi mām̃ chaivam̃ so 'pi draxyati padma-jaḥ | evam uktvā sa bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | tadā-prabhṛiti lokeshu liṇgārchā supratishṭhitā | liṇga-vedī Mahādevī liṇgam̃ sāxād Maheśvaraḥ |* "The self-restraining Nārāyaṇa, falling on his knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśveśa (Śiva), spoke gently thus: 'Our dispute, o god of gods, has proved most auspicious,[800] since thou hast come hither to allay it.' Having heard these words, Hara (Śiva), smiling, again said to Hari (Vishṇu), who stood making obeisance with his hands joined: 'Thou, lord of the earth, art the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the universe]: my child, my child, Hari, Vishṇu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a threefold manner under the names of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Vishṇu, thy delusion; cherish this Pitāmaha. He shall be thy son in the Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprung from the lotus (Brahmā), shall see me.' Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the *Liṇga* has been inaugurated in the worlds. The pedestal of the *Liṇga* is Mahādevī (Umā) and the *Liṇga* is the visible Maheśvara."

[800] I cannot render this sentence otherwise than by taking *vivādam* for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains *śobhanam* as meaning *ubhayor api sama-balatvāch chhobhamānam*, "brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants."

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the origin of the Liṅga-worship.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 225 f., makes him of Vishṇu): *Sanandanādayo ye cha pūrvaṁ sṛishṭās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapexāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jñānā vīta-rāgā vimatsarāḥ | teshv evaṁ nirapexeshu loka-sṛishṭau mahātmanaḥ | Brahmaṇo 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokya-dahana-xamaḥ | tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṁ trailokyam akhilam mune | bhrukuṭī-kuṭilāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-sama-prabhaḥ | ardha-nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachaṇḍo 'ti-śarīravān | "vibhajātmānam" ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ | tathokto 'sau dvidhā strītvam purushatvaṁ tathā 'karot | bibheda purushatvaṁ cha daśadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvaṁ cha sa prabhuḥ | bibheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ |* "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds, the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up the three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and enflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms black and white." [301]

In the same way the Harivaṁśa says (v. 43): *Tato 'sṛijat punar Brahmā Rudraṁ voshātma-sambhavam |* "Then Brahmā next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger."

[301] See Professor Wilson's notes (3 and 4) on this passage, V. P., p. 51.

SECT. VII.—*Results of the preceding Sections.*

The various texts quoted in Sections i.–iv. (pp. 252–291) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brāhmanas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 296 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 147, 153–170, 187–190, 194 f., 203 ff., 225 ff., 236 ff., and 241 ff.), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindū mythology, since he has come to be identified with Śiva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, and shall describe the successive mutations which the conception of this deity undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda:

"We have a Rudra, who, in after times, is identified with Śiva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet *kapardin* which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Śiva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different significa-

tion—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of Siva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, *kaparddin* may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Siva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the *Linga* or *Phallus:* neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the *Trimūrtti*, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Siva, as typified by the mystical syllable *om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the *Trimūrtti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindūs, and the second was the *Lingam*[302] (vol. i. pp. xxvi., xxvii.)

"Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes, in any remarkable degree, of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficent, not of a malignant and irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons; and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the 'terrible Agni;' but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire (*ibid.* pp. xxxvii. f.).

"Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4).

[302] Creuzer, *Religions de l'antiquité*, book i. chap. i. p. 140.

With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahābhārata, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny, but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R.V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness to identify him with the Rudra of the Purānas (vol. ii. pp. ix. f.)."

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his Indische Studien, ii. 19–22:

"In the beginning of the ninth book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (see above, p. 289 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the Śatarudriya (see above, p. 268 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (*chity-upadhāna-parisamāpty-ānantaryam, Sāyaṇa*), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (*dīpyamāno 'tishṭhat*), the gods (*i.e.* the Brahmans[303]) are terrified by it, *yad vai no yam na hiṁsyād iti* ('lest it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, *i.e.* to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates, *i.e.* to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the Brāhmaṇa explains *śata-rudriya* by *śānta-rudriya* (as *gata* comes from the root *gam*); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given.[304] In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the Śatarudriya), we may find an indication of the time when it was

[303] "In the Brāhmaṇas the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

[304] The Ārshādhyāya of the *Chārāyaṇīya* School of the Kāṭhaka also (ii. 17) says: *Śatarudriyaṁ devānāṁ Rudra-śamanam.* "The Śatarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods."

composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of the Maruts. The unbridled fury (*mânyu*) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (*aufwühlen*) of heaven and earth,[305] must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmîr) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil:[306] numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

"It is true that Rudra 'is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility, and giver of happiness;'[307] but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (*śiva*); and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epi-

[305] Hence in the R. V. i. 114, 5, he is also called *varâha*, "boar," as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

[306] In R. V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the Śatarudriya.

[307] Wilson Introd. to trans. of R. V. vol. i. quoted above, p. 333.

thets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of Śiva).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the Śatarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets 'dweller in the mountains' (*giriśa, girišaya, girišanta, giritra*), and those of *kapardin, vyupta-keśa, ugra,* and *bhīma, bhishaj* and *śiva, śambhu* and *śankara*, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of *nīla-grīva* (=*nīlakaṇṭha*, spoken of smoke), *śitikaṇṭha, hiraṇyabāhu* (of flame), *vilohita, sahasrāxa* (of sparks), *paśupati* (of sacrificial victims), *śarva* and *bhava*, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets[308] are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Śiva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin.[309] But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Īśa or Mahādeva, and no character is assigned to him analagous to that of the epic Śiva; and as the word *śiva* is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative *śivatara* annexed), the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Śiva."

[308] "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus Śiva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kālī, Karālī, to Agni," etc.

[309] "Hence he is also called Kālāgnirudra, as in the Purāṇas, and in the Kālāgnirudra Upanishad."

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii. p. 318 f.:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root *vā* 'to blow'). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Maruts or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They ride on spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in (*sic*) Indra's train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes, he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few. He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the 'slayer of men,' *kshayadvīra*;[310] his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Ṛik, at least in the Atharva and Brāhmaṇas, he is styled 'lord of the animals,' as the unhoused beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time he is, to propitiate him, addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra's chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connection between the Vedic religion and the later Śiva-worship. Śiva is a god unknown to the Vedas: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply 'propitious;' not even in the Atharva is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has

[310] Compare the sense given to this word in the translation of R. V. i. 114. 1, above, p. 255.

since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Śiva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development: perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Śiva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharva shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion."

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (i. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 33, 3), as lord (*īśāna*) of this world, possessed of divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might[311] (*ibid.* 10), as the father of the world,[312] mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (*ibid.* 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (*ibid.* 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 33, 11), wearing braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (*ibid.* 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5

[311] Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishṇu and Indra above: see pp. 84, 85. And yet in R. V. ii. 38, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitṛi.

[312] Compare Raghuvansa i. 1, where Parameśvara (Śiva) and Pārvatī are styled the "parents of the world" (*jagataḥ pitarau*).

vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (*ibid.* 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men, *nṛi-ghne* (iv. 3, 6). His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily-invoked (ii. 33, 5), beneficent (*ibid.* 7), gracious (*śiva*, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3;[313] vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii. 29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 4; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff. he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishṇu) as an agent in producing the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. Except, however, in a small number of texts, as R. V. i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 3; and x. 92, 5, there are few distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms "fierce," "tawny-coloured," "with beautiful chin;" and even the word *kaparddin* ("with braided hair"), which at a later period

[313] In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.

became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahādeva, is in the R. V. applied also to Pūshan (see above, p. 254, note 224). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely represented, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befal the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser, may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency, and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and *vice versâ;* and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any *other deity* to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishṇu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R. V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression.

Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as "brown" or "tawny" (xvi. 6), the god "with braided hair" (*ibid.* 10), the "fierce" (*ibid.* 40), the "bountiful," the "gracious" (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as "blue-necked," "thousand-eyed" (*ibid.* 7), "thousand-quivered" (13), "clad in a skin" (iii. 61; xvi. 51), "the dweller in the mountains" (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17–46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the "lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers," etc. (vv. 20, 21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, etc. etc. (vv. 18, 28). Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the Śatarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahâdeva. Ambikâ is mentioned for the first time in the Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and Sarva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitṛi (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand Bhava and Sarva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. Sarva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vâj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).[314]

[314] The Nirukta i. 15 contains a text relating to Rudra which, as given at length by the commentator Durga (cited by Roth, Illust. of Nir. p. 12, note 4), is as follows:

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Śarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Śarva is said to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhīkas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (*kumāra*, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1) to whom the names of Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān-deva, and Īśāna were successively given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 286 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 289 f. and 334) appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 291), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rig-veda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R. V. ii. 1, 6, p. 25; A. V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 277 and 281; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 284; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 20) to identify the different deities with one another appears to have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahā-

Eka eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyo rāṇe vighnan pṛitanāsu śatrūn | sañsṛijya viśvā bhuwanāni goptā pratyaṇ janāṇ sañchukochāntakāle | "One Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle: having created all worlds, a preserver, he afterwards annihilates all beings at the time of the end." Durga does not inform us whence this verse is derived, and I cannot say (see above, p. 297, note). After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, it appears to assign to him, in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer

bhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is pourtrayed in the Śatarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Vishṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 267) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Parvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taitt. Ār.,[315] is now his acknowledged consort.[316] In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmā, and that of preserver to Vishṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the *liṅga* as the great generative power.

Lassen asserts (Indian Antiquities, i. 783) that no mention of the *liṅga* occurs in the Epic poems. I have, however (above, p. 161), quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which it is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet *mahāśepha* in p. 160, which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the *liṅga* is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 167:

Anuśāsana-parva, v. 7510.—*Dahaty ūrddhvaṁ sthito yach cha prāṇān*

[315] These passages will be quoted in the *next* section.

[316] It appears (see Westergaard's Dissertation on the oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇī and Varuṇānī, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of Śiva (under his different appellations of Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, and Mṛiḍa)—viz., Bhavānī, Śarvāṇī, Rudrāṇī, and Mṛiḍānī—may be formed. (The rule is this: *Indra-Varuṇa-Bhava-Śarva-Rudra-Mṛiḍa-himāraṇya-yava-yavana-mātulāchāryyāṇām āṇuk*). It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇī and Varuṇānī were never of any significance.

nṛiṇāṁ sthiraś cha yat | sthira-liṅgas cha yan nityaṁ tasmāt Sthāṇur iti smṛitaḥ | . . . . v. 7516: *Nityañcha brahmacharyyeṇa liṅgam asya yadā sthitam | mahayanty asya lokāś cha priyaṁ hy etad mahātmanaḥ | vigraham pūjayed yo vai liṅgaṁ vā pi mahātmanaḥ | liṅga-pūjayitā nityam mahatīṁ śriyam aśnute | ṛishayas chāpi devāś cha gandharvāpsarasas tathā | liṅgam evārchayanti sma yat tad ūrddhvaṁ samāsthitam | ityādi |* "And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he is fixed, and since his *liṅga* is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called *Sthāṇu*. . . . . 7516: And when his *liṅga* remains constantly in a state of chastity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The constant worshipper of the *liṅga*, who shall worship the image (*vigraha*), or the *liṅga*, of the great [god], enjoys great prosperity. It is the *liṅga*, raised up, which the rishis, gods, Gandharvas, and Apsarases worship."

The *liṅga* is also mentioned in the list of Śiva's names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parva, v. 1160:

Ūrddhva-retā ūrddhva-liṅga ūrddhva-śāyī nabhaḥ-sthitaḥ | v. 1191: *Liṅgādhyaxaḥ surādhyaxaḥ . . . . vījādhyaxo vīja-karttā . . . .* "He whose seed is raised up, whose *liṅga* is raised up, who sleeps aloft, who abides in the sky." . . . . v. 1191: "The lord of the *liṅga*, the lord of the *suras* (gods) . . . . the lord of seed, the former of seed."

We possess no records to shew how this phallic emblem became connected with Rudra. But, as Stevenson (Journal R. A. S. viii. 330[317])

[317] In this paper on "the Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the "worship of Śiva, especially under the form of the *Liṅga*," is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the ante-Brahmanical religion of India, *i.e.* to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to Śiva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts (1) that Śiva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later Śiva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Daxa, such as the general indisposition to acknowledge Śiva's right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 317, note), point to a recent introduction of Śiva's worship (comp. Mahābhārata, Vana-parva, vv. 11001 ff., cited in p. 241 of this volume); (4) that there is no connection between the *Liṅga* and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the *Liṅga* worship are to be found in the south and north-east of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a *Liṅga* temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Vishṇu Brahmans alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśveśvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mis-taken, are Brahmans.' The same is the impression of Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

and Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 783) imagine, it is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word *śiśnadeva* which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the Second Volume of this work (p. 407 and note 65). But I shall quote them again here with the contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows:

R. V. vii. 21, 3 ff.—*Tvam Indra sravitavā apas kaḥ parishṭhitā Ahinā śūra pūrvīḥ | tvad vāvakre rathyo na dhenā rejante viśvā kṛitrimāṇi bhīshā | 4. Bhīmo vivesha āyudhebhir eshām apāṁsi viśvā naryāṇi vidvān | Indraḥ puro jarhṛishāṇo vi dūdhod vi vajra-hasto mahinā jaghāna | 5. Na yātava Indra jūjuvur no na vandanā śavishṭha vedyābhiḥ | sa śardhad aryo vishuṇasya jantor mā śiśna-devā api gur ṛitaṁ naḥ | 6. Abhi kratvā Indra bhūr adha jman na te vivyaṇ mahimānaṁ rajāṁsi | svenā hi Vṛitraṁ śavasā jaghantha na śatrur antaṁ vividad yudhā te | 7. Devāś chit te asuryāya pūrve anu vratrāya mamire sahāṁsi | Indro maghāni dayate vishakya Indraṁ vājasya johavantu sātau | 8. Kīriś chid hi tvām avase juhāva īśānam Indra saubhagasya bhūreḥ | avo babhūtha śatam-ūte asme abhivattus tvāvato varūtā |*

"3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Before thee the cows (waters) have turned their course, like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], knowing all things salutary to men, has with his weapons pierced the works of these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has destroyed them by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, o puissant [deity], adorations with ordinances (?). May the glorious [Indra] triumph over the hostile beings: let not those whose god is the *śiśna* (membrum virile) approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, o Indra, hast surpassed in power. When thou runnest thy

course, the worlds have not comprehended thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have imparted (?) to thee powers to [augment] thy divine glory and energy. Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra to bestow food. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, the protector of the warrior who serves thee."

R. V. x. 99, 1 ff.—*Kaṁ naś chitram ishaṇyasi ċhikitvān pṛithugmānaṁ vāśraṁ vāvṛidhadhyai | kat tasya dātu śavaso vyushṭau taxad vajraṁ Vṛittra-turam apinvat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti sāma pṛithuṁ yonim asuratvā "sasāda | sa sanīḷebhiḥ prasahāno asya bhrātur na ṛite saptathasya māyāḥ | 3. sa vājaṁ yātā apadushpadā yan svarshātā parishadat sanishyan | anarvā yat śata-durasya vedo ghnan śiśnadevān abhi varpasā 'bhūt | 4. Sa yahvyo avanīr goshu arvā ā juhoti pradhanyāsu sasriḥ | apādo yatra yujyāso 'rathā droṇy-aśvāsaḥ īrate ghṛitaṁ vāḥ | 5. Sa Rudrebhir aśasta-vāraḥ ṛibhvā hitvī gayam āre-avadyaḥ ā agāt | vamrasya manye mithunā vivavrī annam abhītya arodayat mushāyan | 6. Sa id dāsaṁ tuvī-ravam patir dan shaḍ-axaṁ tri-śīrshāṇaṁ damanyat | asya Trito nu ojasā vṛidhāno vipā varāham ayo-agrayā han | 7. Sa druhvaṇe manushe ūrddhvasānaḥ ā sāvishad arśasānāya śarum | sa nṛitamo nahusho 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhinad arhan dasyu-hatye |* "What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, the wise, send to us for our increase! What a share of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the Vṛittra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Desiring to bestow strength in the struggle, that warrior has besieged inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the *śisna*, he by his force conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The noble steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth flowing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. To the liberal [god] belong, I believe, two

varied horses. Having approached the food, he roars, desiring to appropriate it. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped finger. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus)." [318]

The following is Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word *śiśnadeva* in the first of the preceding passages, R. V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: *Śiśna-devāḥ | śiśnena divyanti krīḍanti iti śiśna-devāḥ | abrahmacharyyāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha Yāskaḥ | . . . . "śiśna-devā abrahmacharyyāḥ" | . . . . "Śiśnadevāḥ* are those who sport with the *śiśna* (membrum virile), *i.e.* unchaste men; as Yāska says, '*Śiśnadevāḥ* means the unchaste.'" Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Sāyaṇa. He says that those men are called *śiśnadeva* who "are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic observances," (*śiśnena nityam eva prakīrṇābhiḥ strībhiḥ sākaṁ krīḍanta āsate śrautāni karmāṇy utsṛijya |*). Roth, in the place I have cited, thinks the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by *Schwanz-götter*.

It does not appear to me that Sāyaṇa's interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word *deva* forms the last member of the compound, as *anṛita-deva* (vii. 104, 14) and *mūra-deva* (vii. 104, 24). Sāyaṇa explains *mūra-devāḥ* as =*māraṇa-krīḍāḥ*, "those who make a sport of killing;" and he therefore takes *deva* there in the same sense as he does in *śiśna-deva*. But in the other word, *anṛita-deva*, he takes *deva* in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (*anṛitā asatya-bhūtā devā yasya tādṛiśaḥ*). In the same way he understands *anti-devam* in R. V. i. 180, 7, as meaning "near the gods." And though in Boethlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *anṛita-deva* is explained as signifying a "false player," this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Sāyaṇa gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word *deva*. Nor does the sense assigned by Sāyaṇa to *śiśna-deva* appear to be in itself a very probable one.

[318] Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages

For the epithet "lascivious" would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R. V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4, and x. 86, 16, 17). On the other hand, if the word *śiśna-deva* is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Arian worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words *akarman, adevayu, anṛich, anindra, anya-vrata, apavrata, avrata, abrahman, ayajvan* | "without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices," in the passages quoted in the Second Vol. of this work, pp. 374, 375, and 387–391.

It is, however, objected that *śiśna* cannot be taken as equivalent to *liṅga*, which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the *śiśna* denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. *Śiśna* has also the sense of "tail," as in R. V. i. 105, 8, pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words *mūsho na śiśnā vyadanti mā ādhyaḥ* mean "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word *śiśnadevāḥ*, if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the *śiśna*." The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word *dasyu*, viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the Second Vol. of this work, pp. 380 ff; 404 ff.) recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of *śiśna-deva*, that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word *yātavaḥ* (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word *śiśnadeva* does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the Tenth Vol. of his Rāmāyaṇa, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the Second Part of this work (pp. 436 f.),

Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of "Rudra, or a terrible" and, as he believes, "a Hamitic deity." In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume) on the destruction of Daxa's sacrifice, he says: "It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. Siva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of this assertion in regard to the worship of Siva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the South. In note 116, p. 370, of his Ninth Vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvana, had a golden serpent for his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and here therefore Indrajit, the black Rāxasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kānda it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to Siva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kānda to which Gorresio refers, occurs, in the Calcutta edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kānda, vv. 18 f., as follows:

Tishṭha tvaṁ kim mahārāja śrameṇa tava vānarān | ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit pramathishyati | anena cha mahārāja Māheśvaram anuttamam | ishṭvā yajñaṁ varo labdho loke parama-durlabhaḥ | "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This one Indrajit will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered the unequalled sacrifice to Mahādeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahādeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 243 ff.) by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, and above all, of Jarāsandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, that the worship

of Mahādeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not Śiva alone whom the Rākṣasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (cited above in p. 140) that Rāvaṇa had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā.

The same is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvaṇa's sons, in Rāmāyaṇa vi. 71, 31 f. (Calc. ed):

Etenārādhito Brahmā tapasā bhāvitātmanā | astrāṇi chāpy avāptāni ripavaś cha parājitāḥ | surāsurair abadhyatvaṁ dattam asmai Svayambhuvā | By this contemplative (Rākṣasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras."

In verse 26 he is described as "reverent to the aged, and an observer of the Vedas" (*vṛiddha-sevī śruti-dharaḥ*). Rāvaṇa himself is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 (Calc. ed.=vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.) his minister, Supārśva (Avindhya [319] in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: *Veda-vidyā-vrata-snātas sva-karma-niratas tathā | striyāḥ kasmād badhaṁ vīra manyase Rākṣaseśvara* | "Why dost thou, heroic Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākṣasas, who art initiated in the knowledge and practices of the Veda, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?" And Vibhīshaṇa, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 24, Calc. ed.=vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): *Eśho hitāgniś* [320] *cha mahātapāś cha vedānta-gaḥ karmasu chāgrya-śūraḥ* | "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read to the end of the Veda, and was eminently heroic in action." [321]

Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Calc. ed.), that Rāvaṇa was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator says that the Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rākṣasa-brahmans (*Rākṣasa-dvijāḥ*).

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Calc. ed.)—*Chitāṁ chandana-kāṣṭhaiś*

[319] He is called Avindhya in the Rāmopākhyāna in the Vana-parva of the Mahābhārata also, vv. 16148, 16492-6, and elsewhere.

[320] *Eśho hitāgnir ity ārshaḥ sandhiḥ* | Comm.

[321] And yet Vibhīshaṇa abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Calc. ed.), vv. 93 ff.

cha padmakośīra-chandanaiḥ | brāhmyā[322] *saṁvarttayāmāsū rāṇkavāstaraṇāvṛitām | prachakrū Rāxasendrasya pitṛimedham anuttamam | vedīṁcha daxiṇāprāchī(m ?) yathā-sthānañcha pāvakam | pṛishadājyena sampūrṇaṁ sruvaṁ skandhe prachixipuḥ | pādayoḥ śakaṭam prādād (?) antar ūrvor ulūkhalam | dāru-pātrāṇi sarvāṇi araṇiṁ chottarāraṇim | dattvā tu musalaṁ chānyaṁ yathā-sthānaṁ vichakramuḥ | śāstra-dṛishṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena*[323] *cha | tatra medhyam paśuṁ hatva Rāxasendrasya Rāxasāḥ | paristaraṇikāṁ*[324] *rājño ghṛitāktāṁ samaveśayan | gandhair mālyair alaṇkṛitya Rāvaṇaṁ dīna-mānasāḥ | Vibhīshaṇa-sahāyās te vastraiś cha vibidhair api | lājair avakiranti sma vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhā tadā | sa dadau pāvakaṁ tasya vidhi-yuktaṁ Vibhīshaṇaḥ | snātvā chaivārdra-vastreṇa tilān darbha-vimiśritān | udakena cha sammiśrān pradāya vidhi-pūrvakam |*[325] "They formed, with Vedic rites, a funeral pile of faggots of sandalwood, with *padmaka* wood, *uśīra* grass, and sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer's hair. They then performed an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rāxasa prince, placing the sacrificial ground to the S.E. and the fire in the proper situation. They cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee on the shoulder[326] (of the deceased); he (?) placed the car on the feet, and the mortar between the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and

[322] *Veda-mārgānugata-kriyayā* | Comm.

[323] *Kalpa-sūtra-kṛid-ṛishi-vihitena* | Comm.

[324] *Paristīryate mukham anayā iti paristaraṇikā vapā* | *tām rāxasendrasya mukhe samaveśayan* | "*vapā 'sya mukham prastīṇoti*" *iti sūtrāt* | Comm.; who seems therefore to understand *paristaraṇikā* of fat (see Müller as cited in the article referred to in note 325). The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explanation which the reader may consult for himself.

[325] I insert here part of Gorresio's text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): *Tatas te veda-vidvāṁsas taṁ rājñaḥ paśchimāṁ kriyāṁ | chakrire rāxasendrasya pretamedham anuttamam | vedīṁcha daxiṇa-prāchyāṁ yathā-sthānaṁ cha pāvakam | Vibhīshaṇas tu samprāpya tūshṇīṁ samasṛijat sruvam | pṛishadājyasya sampūrṇān sruvān sarvān yathāvidhi | Rāvaṇasya tadā sarve vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhā dvijāḥ | pādayoḥ śakaṭaṁ chakrur antarorāv udūkhalam | vānaspatyāni chānyāni antare 'pi vyadhāpayan | dattvā tu musalaṁ chaiva yathāsthānam mahātmanaḥ | śāstra-dṛishṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena cha | tataḥ paśchāt paśuṁ hatvā rāxasendrasya rāxasāḥ | athāstaraṇikāṁ sarvāṁ ghṛitāktāṁ samaveśayan |*

[326] "According to Āpastamba (says the commentator) it should have been placed on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other sūtras" (*yadyapi "nāsike sruvam" ity Āpastambenoktaṁ tathāpi sūtrāntarāt skandhopanixepaḥ sruvasya bodhyaḥ*). Compare Professor Müller's article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmans in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, pp. vi. ff.

lower firewood (*araṇi*), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rāxasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Sāstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with ghee. They then, Vibhīshaṇa included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvana with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain. Vibhīshaṇa having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form *tila* seeds mixed with *darbha* grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile]." [327]

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rāxasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio's edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa, there is anything, except the "Rāxasa texts," contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Calc. ed) in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the *Nikumbhilā* as being offered to Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length: [328]

[327] On this whole passage the commentator remarks: "*Tatyajus tam mahābhāgam pañcha-bhūtāni Rāvaṇam | śarīra-dhātavo hy asya māṁsa-tvag-rudhirāsu cha | brahmāstra-nirdagdhasya* (sic) *na cha bhasmāpy adṛiśyata" iti Mahābhāratoktatvena kasya Vālmīkinā śmaśānānayana-pūrvaka-dāha uktaḥ iti chenna | tasya Rāma-vāṇa-varṇana-viṣhaye 'tyukty-alaṅkāra-paratvād iti vadati |* "Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Rāmopākhyāna, in Vana-parva 16529 f., where the readings differ somewhat from those here given) that 'the five elements and the constituents of his body, flesh, skin, blood, and breath, forsook the great Rāvaṇa, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (*brahmāstra*), and not even any ashes were seen;'—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmīki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma's arrow the Mahābhārata makes use of ornament and exaggeration."

[328] The Calcutta edition gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio's edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows: *Brahma-datta-varo vīro Rāvaṇiḥ krodha-mūrchhitaḥ | adṛiśyo niśitān vāṇān mumochāśani-sannibhān |* "The son of Rāvaṇa, to whom a boon had been given by Brahmā, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, piercing as lightnings." No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Calcutta text. In Rāmāyaṇa, book v. sect. 24 (Calc. ed.), it is related that the female Rāxasas had been threatening Sīta after her capture by Rāvaṇa, because she would not yield to his desires, and one of

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—*Indrajit tu tatas tena saṁyuge 'dbhuta-kāriṇā | nirjito Bāli-putreṇa krodhaṁ chakre sudāruṇam | so 'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇī raṇa-karkaśaḥ | nikumbhilāyāṁ vidhi-vat Pāvakaṁ juhuve 'stra-vit | juhvatas tasya tatrāgnau raktoshṇīshāmbara-srajaḥ | ājahrus tatra sambhrāntā Rākṣasā yatra Rāvaṇiḥ | śastrāṇi śita-dhārāṇi samidho 'tha vibhītakān | lohitāni cha vāsāṁsi sruvaṁ kārshāya-saṁ tataḥ | sarvato 'gniṁ samāstīryya śaraiḥ sa-prāsa-tomaraiḥ | chhāgalasyāpi kṛishṇasya kaṇṭhād ādāya jīvataḥ | soṇitaṁ tena vidhivat sa juhāva raṇotsukaḥ | sakṛid eva samiddhasya vidhūmasya mahārchishaḥ | babhūvuḥ saṁnimittāni vijayaṁ yāny avedayan | pradakṣiṇāvartta-śikhas tapta-hāṭaka-sannibhaḥ | havis tat pratijagrāha Pāvakaḥ svayam utthitaḥ | tato 'gnimadhyād uttasthau kāñchanaḥ syandanottamaḥ | chaturbhiḥ kāñchanāpīḍair aśvair yuktaḥ prabhadrakaiḥ | antardhāna-gataḥ śrīmān dīpta-pāvaka-saprabhaḥ | hutāgnim tarpayitvā cha daitya-dānava-rākṣasān | vāchayitvā tataḥ svasti prayuktāśīr dvijātibhiḥ | āruroha rathaṁ śreshṭham antar-dhāna-charaṁ śubham | sva-vaśyair vājibhir yuktaṁ śastraiś cha vividhair yutam . . .* 50. *Jāmbūnadamayo nāgas taruṇāditya-sannibhaḥ | babhūvendrajitaḥ ketur vaidūryya-samalaṅkṛitaḥ | Hutvā 'gniṁ Rākṣasair mantrais tato vachanam abravīt |*

"But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-working son of Bāli, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son of Rāvaṇa, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, gar-

them, Śūrpaṇakhā, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 46 ff.): *Surā chānīyatāṁ kṣipraṁ sarva-śoka-vināśinī | mānusham māṁsam āsvādya nṛityāmo 'tha nikumbhilāṁ |* "And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all griefs. Enjoying human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhilā." The comment on this passage states that the *Nikumbhilā* was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Laṅkā (*Nikumbhilā nāma Laṅkāyāḥ paśchima-bhāga-varttinī Bhadrakālī | tāṁ nṛityāmaḥ tat-sannīpaṁ gatvā nṛityāmaḥ*). In the Uttara Kāṇḍa (sect. 30, v. 2) we are told that Rāvaṇa, with his attendants, entered "the Nikumbhilā, a grove in Laṅkā" (*tato nikumbhilā nāma Laṅkopavanam uttamam*). The commentator says it was "a wood situated at the western gate of Laṅkā for the performance of rites" (*Laṅkā-paśchima-dvāradeśa-vartti-karma-siddhi-hetu-bhūtaṁ-kānanam |*). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brahman Uśanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the *agnishṭoma*, *aśvamedhha*, *rājasūya*, *gomedha* (cow-sacrifice), the *Vaishṇava* ceremonial, etc. When he had performed the *Māheśvara* offering, he obtained boons from Mahādeva, who appeared to him. This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 349. But he had also been performing the *Vaishṇava* rite.

ments, and garland, the reverent Rāxasas brought thither sharp-edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and a ladle of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows, darts, and iron maces, and having drawn blood from the throat of a live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless fire omens which portended victory. Pāvaka himself rising with his flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments. The glorious [Indrajit], lustrous as burning fire, becoming invisible, having satiated the sacrificial fire, the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rāxasas, having caused a benediction (*svasti*) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmans, ascended the beautiful chariot, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. . . . . 50. A golden serpent, bright as the rising sun, and adorned with *lapis lazuli*, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rāxasa texts, he then spake," etc.

The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhīshaṇa in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Calc. ed.=vi. 63, 13 of Gorr. ed.):

Chaityaṁ nikumbhilām adya prāpya homaṁ karishyati | Hutavān upayāto hi devair api sa-vāsavaiḥ | durādharsho bhavaty esha saṅgrāme Rāvaṇātmajaḥ | . . . . 16. *Sa-sainyās tatra gachhāmo yāvat tanna samāpyate | . . . .* 23. *Samāpta-karmā hi sa Rāxasarshabho bhavaty adriśyaḥ samare surāsuraih | yuyutsatā tena samāpta-karmaṇā bhavet surāṇām api saṁśayo mahān |* "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he will offer an oblation (*homa*). When he approaches after making this offering, this son of Rāvaṇa is invincible by gods and Vāsavas. . . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed. . . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his rite,[329] that prince of the Rāxasas becomes invisible by either gods or Asuras in battle; and even the gods would hesitate to encounter him if he desired to fight."

In the following section Vibhīshaṇa returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Calc. ed.=vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

Tena vīreṇa tapasā vara-dānāt svayambhuvaḥ | astram brahma-śiraḥ

[329] It is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 35, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe.

prāptaṁ kāmagāś cha turaṅgamāḥ | sa esha saha sainyena prāptaḥ kila nikumbhilām | yady uttishthet kṛitam karma hatān sarvāṁś cha viddhi naḥ | nikumbhilām asamprāptam akṛitāgniṁ cha yo ripuḥ | tvām ātatāyinaṁ hanyāt Indraśatro sa te badhaḥ | "This hero has obtained through austerity, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called *brahma-śiras*, and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his ceremony you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee, thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,[330] and kindled the fire, this, o enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy death," etc.

It is related in the following section (86, 14 f., Calc. ed.=65, 12 Gorr.) that they arrived before his rite had been completed:

Svam anīkaṁ vishaṇṇaṁ tu dṛishṭvā śatrubhir arditam | udatishṭhata durdharshaḥ sa karmany ananusṭhite | vṛixāndhakārād nirgamya jātakrodhaḥ sa Rāvaṇiḥ | ityādi | "Hearing that his army was harassed by their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rāxasa) arose while his ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot," etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, or Fifth Book, vv. 12 ff. (only found in Gorresio's, not in the Calc. ed.), which forms the sequel to the one given above, p. 310, Mahādeva is represented as receiving Vibhīshaṇa with favour, after he had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent Śiva as an especial object of adoration to the Rāxasas, he might have been expected to have described this deity as repaying their worship with an especial favour and affection; but it is inconsistent with this that he should represent Śiva as receiving favourably a deserter from the Rāxasa camp.

[330] Explained by the commentator as *nikumbhilāṁ tad-yāga-bhūmim mahākālīxetraṁ tad-ākhya-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam* | "that sacrificial ground, the sacred precinct of the great Kālī—viz., the root of the nyagrodha tree so called." This tree is mentioned in vi. 87, 1 ff., Calc. ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . . *praviśya tu mahad vanam | adarśayata tat-karma Laxmaṇāya Vibhīshaṇaḥ | nīla-jīmūta-saṅkāśaṁ nyagrodham bhīmadarśanam | tejasvī Rāvaṇa-bhrātā Laxmanāya nyavedayat | ihopahāram bhūtānām balavān Rāvaṇātmajaḥ | upahṛityatataḥ paśchāt saṅgrāmam abhivarttate | adṛiśyaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ tato bhavati Rāxasaḥ | nihanti cha rane śatrūn badhnāti cha śarottamaiḥ | tam apravishṭam nyagrodham imam tvaṁ Rāvaṇātmajam | vidhvaṁsaya śarais tīxṇair ityādi |*

There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yudha Kāṇḍa, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio's ed.), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Vishṇu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Vishṇu's worship (particularly as Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā are also slightingly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. If the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Vishṇu, it was of course necessary to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākṣasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmaṇs and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Śiva.[331]

SECT. VIII.—*The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Śiva.*

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Saṇhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister.

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the Talavakāra or Kena Upanishad. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose

[331] It is also related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (sections 4–8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rākṣasa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Laṇkā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Vishṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Liṇga-worship attributed to Rāvaṇa in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 36, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of Śiva among the southern races.

of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain who this object of veneration was. When, in answer to Brahma's enquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2): *Atha Indram abruvan "Maghavann etad vijānīhi kim etad yaxam" iti | "tathā" iti tad abhyadravat tasmāt tirodadhe |* 12. *Sa tasminn evākāśe striyam ājagāma bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatīm | tām hovācha kim etad yaxam iti |* iv. 1. *Sā Brahmeti hovācha Brahmaṇo vā etad-vijaye mahīyadhvam iti | tato haiva vidāñchakāra Brahmeti |* "They then said to Indra, 'Maghavan, ascertain what this object of adoration is.' He replied, 'So be it;' and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Umā Haimavatī. To her he said, 'What is this object of adoration?' She said, 'It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, ye became exalted.' By this he knew Brahma." [332]

In his remarks [333] on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.) Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Umā. He says: "The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and

[332] This is explained by the commentator: *Tasyendrasya yaxe bhaktim buddhvā Vidyā Umā-rūpiṇī prādurabhūt strī-rūpā | sa Indras tām Umām bahu śobhamānāṁ sarveshāṁ hi śobhāmānānāṁ śobhanatamāṁ Vidyāṁ tadā "bahu śobhamānā" iti viśeshaṇam upapannam bhavati | Haimavatīṁ hema-kritābharaṇavatīm iva bahu śobhamānām ityarthaḥ | athavā Umaiva Himavato duhitā Haimavatī nityam eva sarvajñena Īśvareṇa saha varttate iti jñātuṁ samarthā iti kritvā tām upāyagāma Indras tām ha Umām kilovācha paprachha kim etad darśayitvā tirobhūtam yaxam |* "Knowing Indra's devotion to this object of adoration, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Umā, appeared. Indra [came] to her who was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet 'very resplendent' is then established. 'Haimavatī' means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Umā Haimavatī, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Iśvara (Mahādeva) is able to know. Thus Indra approached Umā, and said to her, 'What is this object of adoration which appeared and vanished?'"

[333] Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

Sūrya,[334] who had come to be regarded as the representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vāyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vāyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Purusha Sukta (R. V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahma (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahma over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.

"But how shall we explain the position of Umā Haimavatī, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahmā and the gods? According to Śankara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umā-rupiṇī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyana, who (on Taitt. Ār. x. 1, 150) when interpreting the word *soma*, cites this passage, and remarks: *Himavat-putryā Gauryyā brahma-vidyābhimāni-rūpatvād Gauri-vāchaka Umā-śabho brahma-vidyām upa-laxayati | ata eva Talavakāropaniṣhadi brahma-vidyā-mūrtti-prastāve brahma-vidyā-mūrttiḥ paṭhyate "bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatīm tām hovācha" iti | tad-vishayaḥ tayā Umayā saha varttamānatvāt Somaḥ |* "Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: 'He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī.' Soma is he who has reference to her from his existing together with her. And again in the same commentary on Anuvāka 38, it is said: *Umā brahma-vidyā tayā saha varttamāna Soma paramātman |* 'Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, o Soma, supreme spirit,' etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 18, in explanation of the term *Ambikā-pataye*, we have the words: *Ambikā jagannātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bharttre |* 'Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,' etc.; and the word *Umāpataye* (which stands in the Draviḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text

[334] See above, p. 134.

of the Taitt. Ār.) is thus interpreted: *Tasyā eva brahma-vidyātmako deha Umā-śabdenochyate tasyāḥ svāmine* | 'Her (Ambikā's) body representing divine knowledge is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,' etc. This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which,—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad,—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression *Umā-sahāya* in the Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 304) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the Commentaries in other places also[335] explain *soma* by *Umayā sahita*, 'accompanied by Umā' (as Sāyaṇa has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Sāyaṇa, where the word signifies simply the Soma-libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (*i.e.* partly from the unanimity of the Commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting *brahma-vidyā*, 'divine knowledge,' and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connection with the sacred word *om*. There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with Himavat? Is it that the *brahma-vidyā* (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadeśa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushītakī Brāhmana (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (*vāchaṁ śixitum*) and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority. Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful vallies of the Himālaya, than was possible for men living in Madhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā Haimavatī appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For,—not to say that

[335] *e.g.* Mahīdhara on Vaj. S. 16, 39, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra on the corresponding part of the Taitt. Saṁhitā.

in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element,—we are by no means certain that Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (*brahma-vidyā*); and moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the Taitt. Ār.) would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pārvatī, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavatī, to place the emphasis not upon the *Himavat*, but upon the mountain (*parvata*): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the Śatarudriya (see above, p. 268), *Giriśa, Giriśanta, Giriśaya, Giritra*, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Śiva's dwelling on Kailāsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvatī, Haimavatī, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife;[336] and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra's sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183). Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as Ambikā, 'mother,' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahīdhara on Vaj. S. 3, 5,—just as Rudra was called Śiva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root *u, av*, 'to protect.' It

[336] Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: "Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikā stand in direct relation thereto? In the same way Sarasvatī also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitamā, is addressed with the word 'Amba,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (*uttame śikhare jātā parvata-mūrdhani*). According to this view, *Umā* and *Sarasvatī*, *Ambikā* and *Ambitamā*, *Pārvatī* and the *parvata-mūrdhani jātā*, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the Kena Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varadā of the Taitt. Ar. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with Sarasvatī." [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connection of Umā and Sarasvatī to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 366) Umā is the younger, while the river Gangā is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J. M.]

is true that a final vowel before *ma* commonly takes *guṇa*, or is lengthened, but the words *sima* and *hima* shew that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps (unless we derive it from *ram*) a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Iśvara, and thus also as Brahma; *i.e.* it would belong to the period of some Śaiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Umā as representing 'divine knowledge' rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Umā with Sarasvatī, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

"I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of Śiva's spouse. As in Śiva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms,[337] and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as Umā, Ambikā, Pārvatī, Haimavatī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as Kālī, Karālī (see Ind. Stud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirṛiti, the goddess of all evil.

"The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Aranyaka, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (Ind. Stud. i. pp. 75 and 228[338]). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of

[337] "The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhishthira to Durgā, where he calls her *Yaśodā*, *Kṛishṇā*, 'born in the cowherd family of Nanda,' 'sister of Vāsudeva,' 'enemy of Kansa,' and 'having the same features as Sankarshana,' etc. etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable."

[338] In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyanīya Upanishad (the part of the Taitt. Ar. in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, "but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the Taitt. Ar., viz. *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumāriṁ*

the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyakumāri*[339] *dhīmahi | tan no Durgiḥ prachodayāt |* "We think on Kātyāyana (nī ?) and meditate on Kanyakumāri; may Durgi advance us."

. . . Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyaṇa puts into it,[340] and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads. All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz., Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Shaṇmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Vishṇu, Nārasinha, Aditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . . Moreover, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Śiva's consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards *Kātyāyanī* this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmans, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of

dhīmahi tan no Durgiḥ prachodayāt, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumārīṁ dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |* This agrees with the sense which Sāyaṇa, in his interpretation, puts on the words." In the passage of the Linga Purāṇa ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the Third Vol. of this work, p. 161, this invocation of Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26: *Kātyāyanyai vidmahe Kanyākumāryai dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |*

[339] The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given *Kanyakumarim* as the proper reading.

[340] Sāyaṇa's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: *Paśchād Durgā-gāyatrī | "Hema-prakhyām indu-khaṇḍāṅka-maulim" ity āgama-prasiddha-mūrtti-dharāṁ Durgām prārthayate "Kātyāyanāya" iti | kṛitiṁ vaste iti Kātyo Rudraḥ | . . . . sa evayānam adhiṣṭhānaṁ yasyāḥ sā Kātyāyanī athavā Kata-asya ṛishi-viśeshasya apatyaṁ Kātyaḥ | . . . . . Kutsitam anishṭham mārayati iti kumārī kanyā dīpyamānā chāsau kumārī cha Kanyākumārī | Durgiḥ Durgā | liṅgādi-vyatyayaḥ savatra chhāndaso drashṭavyaḥ | . . . . .* "Then follows Durgā's gayatrī. In the words 'Kātyānāya,' etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the sāstras 'as having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon.' Rudra is Kātya, he who wears a skin . . . . and Kātyāyanī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanyā, 'shining,' and Kumārī, is Kanyākumārī. Durgi is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas.

the Kātyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kālī, Karālī, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. *Kanyākumārī*, or 'the maidenly,' is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, *i.e.* of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Śiva? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taitt. Ār. (Andhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting *Durgā* with the sacrificial fire. "It is there said[341] in the second verse: *Tām agnivarṇāṁ tapasā jvalantīṁ vairochanīṁ karma-phaleshu jushṭām | Durgāṁ devīṁ śaraṇam aham prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ* | ("I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who delights to [bestow?] the rewards of rites: adoration be to thy energy, o impetuous [goddess]"). The five following verses repeat (as does also the *Durgā-stava* in the Parishṭa) the same thought, which is also expressed in R. V. i. 99,[342] that Agni would help the suppliant over all *durga* and *durita* (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified *Durgati* (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirṛiti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all *durga* and *durita*, is a *durgā*, a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambikā, Śiva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirṛiti, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shews that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of Śiva bore a terrific character both from her connection with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karālī).

"The last name of Śiva's consort which I find in the Taittirīya

[341] "This verse is also found in the *Durgā-stava* of the *Rātriparishishṭa* between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashtaka of the R. V" (*i.e.* between Maṇḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

[342] This verse is as follows: *Jātavedase sunavāma somam arātīyato nidahāti vedaḥ | sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṇi viśvā nāveva sindhuṁ duritā 'ti Agniḥ* |

Aranyaka x. is Varadā, in anuv. 34 (=Drāv. 26) and 36 (=Drāv. 30). It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvatī, not of Durgā, when it is said: *Āyātu varadā devī akaram brahma-sammitam | gāyatrīm chhandasām mātā idam (?) brahma jushasva me |. . . . . sarva-varṇe mahādevi sandhyā-vidye Sarasvati* |[343] But the words in anuv. 36 are not so clear: *Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parvata-mūrdhani | brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanujñātā gachha devi yathāsukham | stuto (=stutā u) mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayantī pāvane dvijātā,*[344] etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort of Śiva. The other names, however, *sarva-varṇā, chhandasām mātā, veda-mātā*, and finally *Sarasvatī* itself conduct us to Sarasvatī; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 34–36. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming here a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umā Haimavatī in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 360, note 336."

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Śiva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in an important passage of another of the Upanishads (the Muṇḍaka i. 2, 4), but they are there appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: *Kālī Karālī cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhūmravarṇā | Sphuliṅginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānā iti sapta jihvāḥ* | which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): "The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one),

[343] The sense of these words is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come: do thou, mother of the Vedas, receive with favour the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, this my prayer, o thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvatī."

[344] The sense is: "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmans, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc.

Karālī (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravarṇā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess." The words "of the fire" are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks: *Kālī Karālī Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmra-varṇā Sphuliṅginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānā dahanasya jihvāḥ | Agner havir-āhuti-grasanārthā etāḥ sapta jihvāḥ |* "Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṇa, Sphuliṅginī, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for devouring oblations of butter."

...On this passage Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. i, 286 f.): "The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Śiva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the 'dark, terrific, tongue of fire' to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālī, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since we find the latter in the drama of 'Mālatī-Mādhava,' by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shewn in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud. i. p. 78." In a note Weber adds: "The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife? for Yama too, like Śiva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while Śiva is the more recent."

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Vishṇu Purāṇas in section vi. (pp. 317, 324), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Daxa, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Daxa's sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa says nothing of this double birth and parentage:

Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl.)—*Śailendro Himavān nāma dhātūnām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyā-dvayaṁ jātaṁ rūpeṇāpratimam bhuvi | yā Meru-duhitā Rāma tayor mātā sumadhyamā | nāmnā Menā manojñā vai patnī Himavataḥ priyā | tasyāṁ Gangeyam abhavaj jyeshṭhā Himavataḥ sutā | Umā nāma dvitīyā 'bhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava | . . . . 19. Yā chānyā Śaila-duhitā kanyāsīd Raghu-nandana | ugraṁ sā vratam āsthāya tapas tepe tapo-dhanā | ugreṇa tapasā yuktāṁ dadau Śaila-varaḥ sutām | Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ loka-namaskṛitām | Ity ete Śaila-rājasya sute Rāma babhūvatuḥ | Gangā cha saritām śreshṭhā devīnāṁ chāpy Umā varā |* "To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals, two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother. Of her was born Gangā, the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called Umā. . . . . 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austere observances, having undertaken an arduous rite, fulfilled a course of severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity, adored by the worlds, the Chief of mountains gave to the matchless Rudra. These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains, Gangā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of goddesses."

The Harivaṁsa (vv. 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā, which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it assigns three daughters to Himavat and Menā, among whom the Gangā is not included:

Eteshām mānasī kanyā Menā nāma mahāgireḥ | patnī Himavataḥ śreshṭhā . . . . 943. Tisraḥ kanyās tu Menāyāṁ janayāmāsa Śaila-rāṭ | Aparṇām Ekaparṇāṁ cha tritīyām Ekapāṭalām | tapaś charantyaḥ sumahad duścharaṁ Deva-Dānavaiḥ | lokān samtāpayāmāsus tās tisraḥ sthāṇu-jaṅgamān | āhāram eka-parṇena Ekaparṇā samācharat | pāṭalā-pushpam ekaṁ cha ādadhāv Ekapāṭalā | ekā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā pratyashedhayat | "u mā" iti nishedhantī mātṛi-snehena duḥkhitā | sā taithoktā tada mātrā devī duścharā-chāriṇī | Umety evābhavat khyātā trishu lokeshu sundarī | tathaiva nāmnā teneha viśrutā yogadharmiṇī | etat tu trikumārīkaṁ jagat sthāsyati Bhārgava | tapaḥ-śarīrās tāḥ sarvās tisro yoga-balānvitāḥ | sarvāś cha brahma-vādinyaḥ sarvāś chaivordhva-retasaḥ | Umā tāsāṁ varishṭhā cha jyeshṭhā cha vara-varṇinī | mahāyoga-

balopetā Mahādevam upasthitā | Asitasyaikaparṇā tu Devalasya mahātmanaḥ | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogāchāryāya dhīmate | Jaigīshavyāya tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapāṭalām |

940. "Their (the Pitṛis') mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz., Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, and Ekapāṭalā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparṇā ('One-leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapāṭalā took only one pāṭalā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparṇā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words *u mā* ('o don't). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by?] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparṇā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the *Yoga*. And know that Ekapāṭalā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigīshavya."

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā, which, as has been mentioned in p. 170, he uttered at the suggestion of Krishṇa:[345]

M. Bh. Bhīshma p. vv. 796 ff.—*Arjjuna uvacha | namas te Siddhasenāni āryye mandara-vāsini | Kumāri Kāli Kāpāli Kapile Kṛishṇapiṅgale | Bhadrakāli namas tubhyam Mahākāli namo 'stu te | Chaṇḍi Chaṇḍe namas tubhyam Tāriṇi Varavarṇini | Kātyāyani mahābhāge Karāli Vijaye Jaye | śikhi-piṅkha-dhvaja-dhare nānābharaṇa-bhūshite | aṭṭa-śūlapraharaṇe khaḍga-kheṭaka-dhāriṇi | gopendrāsyānuje jyeshṭhe Nandagopa-kulodbhave | Mahishāsṛik-priye nityaṁ Kauśiki pīta-vāsini | aṭṭahāse koka-mukhe namas te 'stu raṇa-priye | Ume Śākambhari Śvete Kṛishṇe*

[345] The Bhagavadgītā, in which Krishṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhishma-parva, vv. 830 ff.

Kaiṭabha-nāśini | Hiraṇyāxi Virūpāxi Dhūmrāxi cha namo 'stu te | Veda-śruti mahāpuṇye brahmaṇye Jātavedasi | Jambū-kaṭaka-chaityeshu nityaṁ sannihitālaye | tvam brahma-vidyā vidyānām mahānidrā cha dehinām | Skandha-mātar bhagavati Durge kāntāra-vāsini | . . . . . Svāhākāraḥ Svadhā chaiva kalā kāshṭhā Sarasvatī | Sāvitrī Veda-mātā cha tathā Vedānta uchyate (uchyase?) | stutā 'si tvam Mahādevi viśuddhenāntarātmanā | Jayo bhavatu me nityaṁ tvat-prasādād raṇājire | kāntāra-bhaya-durgeshu bhaktānām pālaneshu cha | nityaṁ vasasi pātāle yuddhe jayasi dānavān | tvaṁ Jambhanī Mohinī cha Māyā Hrīḥ Śrīs tathaiva cha | Sandhyā prabhāvatī chaiva Sāvitrī Jananī tathā | Tushṭiḥ Pushṭir Dhṛitir Dīptiś chandrāditya-vivardhinī | bhūtir bhūtimatāṁ saṅkhye vīxyase siddha-chāraṇaiḥ |

"Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generaless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Krishna-pingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakālī; reverence to thee, Mahākālī; reverence to thee, Chaṇḍī, Chaṇḍā; reverence to thee, o Tāriṇī (deliveress), o Varavarṇinī (beautiful-coloured), o fortunate Kātyāyanī, o Karālī, o Vijayā, o Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wielding sword and shield, younger daughter [or sister] of the chief of cowherds, eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha's blood, Kauśikī, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, o Umā, Śākambharī, thou white one, thou black one, o destroyer of Kaitabha. Reverence to thee, o Hiranyāxī, Virūpāxī, Dhūmrāxī (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), o Vedaśruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jātavedasī (female Agni), who dwellest continually near to (. . . . ?) mountain-ridges, and places of sacrifice. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, o mother of Skanda, divine Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāshṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sarasvatī,[318] Sāvitrī, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Vedas). Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pātāla, thou con-

[318] Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umā and Sarasvatī, above, p. 360, note, and p. 364.

stantly dwellest, and conquerest the Danavas in battle. Thou art Jambhanī (destroyer ?), Mohinī, Māyā, Hrī, Śrī, Sandhyā,[347] the luminous, Sāvitrī, the mother, Tushṭi (contentment), Pushṭi (fatness), Dhṛiti (constancy), Dīpti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Chāraṇas [to be]."

In another part of the Mahābhārata, Virāṭa-parva, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 361, note) addressed by Yudhishthira to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding. Among other things, she is there said to "have her perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh, and sacrificial victims" (*Vindhye chaiva naga-śreshṭhe tava sthānaṁ hi śāśvatam | Kāli Kāli Mahākāli sīdhu-māṁsa-paśu-priye |*).

In the Harivaṁsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Devakī's offspring, Vishṇu descended into Pātāla, where he sought the aid of Nidrā Kāla-rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of time); and promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devakī (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devakī. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśiki, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Vishṇu), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (*tatraiva tvāṁ bhaginy-arthe grahīshyati sa Vāsavaḥ | Kuśikasya tu gotreṇa Kauśikī tvam bhavishhyasi*[348] *| sa te Vindhye naga-sreshṭhe sthānaṁ dāsyati śāśvatam | ityādi |*). Vaiśampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been "uttered by rishis of old," beginning *Nārāyaṇīṁ namasyāmi devīṁ tribhuvaneśvarīm |* "I bow down before the goddess Nārāyaṇī,

[347] See above, p. 364.

[348] Kauśika is applied as an epithet to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11. See the First Vol. of this work, p. 82, note 50.

the mistress of the three worlds." She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna's hymn (above, p. 367 ff.), such as Śrī, Dhṛiti, Kīrtti, Hrī, Sandhyā, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, Jayā, Vijayā, Tushṭi, Pushṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (*jyeshṭā Yamasya bhaginī*, v. 3271); and said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] Śavaras, Varvaras, and Pulindas (*Śavarair Varbaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supūjitā*, v. 3274). She is also said to be fond of wine and flesh (*surā-māṁsa-priyā*, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (*surā-devī*, v. 3286), to be Sarasvatī in Vālmīki (comp. p. 360), and Smṛiti (memory) in Dvaipāyana, *i.e.* Vyāsa (*Sarasvatī cha Vālmīke Smṛitir Dvaipāyane tathā*), and to pervade the entire world (*tvayā vyāptam idaṁ sarvaṁ jagat sthāvara-jaṅgamam*).

The object of this passage seems to be to take Durgā and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the Vaishnavas) under the protection and patronage of Vishṇu.

A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Krishṇa, is also to be found in Harivaṁśa vv. 9423; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Krishṇa, occurs in vv. 10235 of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśampāyana after he had made obeisance to the "infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyana" (*anantam avayaṁ divyam ādi-devaṁ sanātanam | Nārāyaṇaṁ namaskṛitya*, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being "adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence" (*rishibhir daivataiś chaiva vāk-pushpair architāṁ śubhām*, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Vishṇu (*Mahendra-Vishṇu-bhaginīm*, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.): *Brahmā Vishṇuś cha Rudraś cha chandra-sūryāgni-mārutāḥ | . . . . . kṛitsnaṁ jagad idam proktaṁ devyā nāmānukīrttanāt |* "Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind . . . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess."

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the Devī-māhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Vishṇu, and not with her proper consort, Mahādeva. She is there called Mahāmāyā (the great Illusion), Yoganidrā (the Sleep of meditation), etc.

It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): *Nityaiva sā jagan-mūrttir tayā sarvam idaṁ tatam | tathāpi tat-samutpattir bahudhā śrūyatāṁ mama | devānāṁ kāryya-siddhy-artham āvirbhavati sā yadā | utpanneti tadā loke sā nityā 'py abhidhīyate |* "She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out: and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born." The narrative then proceeds, that when Vishṇu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (*Yoganidrā*) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter seeing Vishṇu asleep, with the view of arousing him began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidrā, "his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction;" (*Hari-netra-kṛitālayām | viśveśvarīṁ jagaddhātrīṁ sthiti-saṁhāra-kāriṇīm | nidrām bhagavatīṁ Vishṇoḥ |*). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): *Tvayaiva dhāryyate sarvaṁ tvayaitat sṛijyate jagat | tvayaitat pālyate devi tvam atsy ante cha sarvadā |* "By thee the universe is upheld; by thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end." Again, it is said of her (v. 63 ff.): *Vachcha kiñchit kvachid vastu sad asad vā 'khilātmake | tasya sarvasya yā śaktiḥ sā tvaṁ kiṁ stūyase tadā | yayā tvayā jagat-sraṣṭā jagat-pātā 'tti yo jagat | so 'pi nidrā-vaśaṁ nītaḥ kas tvām stotum iheśvaraḥ | Vishṇuḥ śarīra-grahaṇam aham Īśāna eva cha | kāritās te yato 'tas tvām kaḥ stotuṁ śaktimān bhavet |* "Thou art the power (*śakti*) of whatever substance, existent or nonexistent, anywhere is, o thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom the Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Vishṇu, and me (Brahmā), and Iśāna (Śiva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?"

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahisha:

Mārk. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—*Śakrādayaḥ sura-gaṇā nihate 'tivīryye tasmin durātmani surāribale cha devyā | tām tushṭuvaḥ praṇati-namra-śirodharāṁsā vāgbhiḥ praharsha-pulakodgama-chāru-dehāḥ | deryā yayā*

tatam idaṁ jagad ātma-śaktyā niḥśesha-deva-gaṇa-śakti-samūha-mūrttyā | tām Ambikām akhila-deva-maharshi-pūjyām bhaktyā natāḥ sma vidadhātu śubhāni sā naḥ | yasyāḥ prabhāvam atulam bhagavān Ananto Brahmā Haraś cha na hi vaktum alam balaṅcha | sā Chaṇḍikā 'khilajagat-paripālanāya nāśāya chāśubha-bhayasya matiṁ karotu | "When the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, with their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their bodies beautified by horripilation, delighted, lauded her with [these] words: 'We bow down with devotion before that goddess Ambikā, who stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated the various energies (*śakti*) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Chaṇḍikā, whose majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Vishṇu), nor Brahmā, nor Hara (Śiva) is competent to express, think upon the preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to shew the dignity to which this goddess has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with the descriptions quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc. (pp. 306, 314 ff., 366 f.), will shew that she has now attained a far higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by the daughter of Daxa and Himavat.

APPENDIX.

Page 5, *line* 1.

Ārambhaṇam. Compare the words *anārambhaṇe tamasi* in R. V. vii. 104, 3.

Page 10, *line* 14.

Mārttāṇḍam. Compare R. V. ii. 38, 8. . . . *viśvo mārttāṇḍo vrajam ā paśur gāt* . . . . which the commentator explains, "every bird and beast goes to its resting place."

Page 19, *v.* 23.

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhāndogya Upanishad (p. 228 ff.): *Āditya Brahma ity ādeśaḥ | tasyopavyākhyānam | asad evedam agre āsīt | tat sad āsīt | tat samabhavat | tad āṇḍaṁ niravarttata | tat saṁvatsarasya mātrām aśayata | tad nirabhidyata | te āṇḍa-kapāle rajataṁ cha suvarṇaṁ cha abhavatām | tad yat rajataṁ sā iyam pṛithivī yat suvarṇaṁ sā dyaur yaj jarāyu*[1] *te parvatā yad ulvaṁ*[2] *sa megho nīhāro*[3] *yā dhamanayas*[4] *tā nadyo yad vāsteyam*[5] *udakaṁ sa samudraḥ | atha yat tad ajāyata so 'sāv Ādityas taṁ jāyamānaṁ ghoshā ulūlavo*[6] *'nudatishṭhan* ['*nūdatishṭhan* ?] *sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam*[7] *prati ghoshā ulūlavo 'nutishṭhanti sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmāḥ* | which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mittra: "The

[1] *Garbha-veshṭanaṁ sthūlam* | Comm.
[2] *Sūxmaṁ garbha-pariveshṭanam* | Comm.
[3] *Avaśyāyaḥ* (*frost*) | Comm.
[4] *Sirāḥ* | Comm.
[5] *Vastau bhavam vāsteyam* | Comm. "Abdominal," Wilson.
[6] *Ūruravo vistīrṇa-ravā udatishṭhann utthitavantaḥ* |
[7] *Pratyasta-gamanam* . . . . *athavā punaḥ punaḥ pratyāgamanam*

sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Thereof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of 'ulu-ulu'], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day] of the sun, arise shouts of 'ulu-ulu,' as well as all living beings and their desires." (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

Page 23, *line* 30.

From Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 78, I find that in the Taittirīya Araṇyaka also, the earth is said to have been "raised by a black boar with a hundred arms" (*varāheṇa kṛishṇena śata-bāhunā uddhṛitā*).

Page 29, *line* 8.

In the Uttara Kāṇḍa, also, of the Rāmāyaṇa (4, 9, Calc. ed.), it is said: *Prajāpatiḥ purā sṛishṭvā apaḥ salila-sambhavaḥ | tāsāṁ gopāyane sattvān asṛijat padma-sambhavaḥ |* "The lotus-born Prājapati, sprung from the waters (or, the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;" who from their agreeing to *protect* the waters, were called Rākṣasas (from the root *rax*, "to protect").

On this verse the commentator remarks: *"Apaḥ sṛishṭvā" bhūmer adho-varttinīr apaḥ sṛishṭvā ity arthaḥ | tatra "salila-sambhavaḥ" Prajāpatir abhūd ity anvayaḥ | . . . . tathā "apo vā idam agre salilam asīt tasmin Prajāpatir vāyur bhūtvā 'charat | sa imām apaśyat tāṁ Varāho 'bhūtvā "harad" iti śruteścha |* "'Having created the waters:' the sense is, having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the 'water-born' Prajāpati arose,—such is the connection." He then quotes Manu i. 8 f. (see p. 26 above), and another text from the Veda, and afterwards goes on: ". . . . and from the Vedic text, 'this universe was formerly waters, water. In it Prajāpati becoming wind, moved. He beheld this earth: becoming a boar, he raised her.'"

In the Kishk. K. of the Rāmāyaṇa, 43, 54 ff. (Calc. ed.), Brahmā (in the masculine) is identified with the soul of the universe: *Tam atikramya śailendram uttaras toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Soma-girir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān | 55. Sa tu deśo visūryyo 'pi tasya bhāsā prakāśate | sūryya-laxmyā 'bhivijñeyas tapateva vivasvatā | 56. Bhagavāṁs tatra viśvātmā Sambhur eko daśātmakaḥ | Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarshi-parivāritaḥ | na kathañchana gantavyaṁ Kurūṇām uttareṇa cha | ityādi* | "Beyond that chief of mountains (in the land of the northern Kurus) is the northern ocean. There in its centre is the great golden Soma-giri (mountain of Soma or the Moon). That region, though sunless, shines by the lustre of that [mountain], and is recognizable by a sun-like splendour, as if the sun were shining. There the divine soul of the world, Sambhu, one, but tenfold, Brahmā, dwells, the god of gods, attended by the rishis. You must by no means go beyond the Kurus."

The commentator remarks on v. 56: *Viśvaṁ samati vyāpnoti iti viśvātmā vyāpakaḥ | tena Vishṇu-rūpaḥ | Vishṇu-vyāptāv ity anusārāt sa eva Sambhuḥ śam bhavaty asmāt | sa evaikādaśānuvākārthaikādaśa-rudrātmakaḥ | sa cha Brahmā brāhmaṇatvāj jagat-srashṭṛitvād evaṁ-rūpa-trayātmā bhagavāṁs tatra Soma-girau kāryya-brahma-lokatvād vasatīty arthaḥ* | "He who pervades all things,—is the soul of all things, the pervader. He is therefore in the form of Vishṇu. Since Vishṇu pervades, he is consequently Sambhu, he from whom happiness arises. He is the subject of the eleven anuvākas, and exists in the form of the eleven Rudras. [The commentator must therefore read *ekādaśatmakaḥ* in the text. Gorresio's edition reads *bahudhātmakaḥ*.] And this divine being, [called] Brahmā, from his character of Brahmā, *i.e.* from his being the creator of the world, existing in these three forms, dwells on that Soma-giri, from its being the created *Brahma-loka* [?]." I subjoin for comparison the passage as given in Gorresio's edition:

Kishk. K. 44, 117 ff.—*Kurūṁs tān samatikramya uttare payasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṇmaya-samo mahān | Indra-loka-gatā ye cha Brahma-loka-gatāś cha ye | sarve te samavaikṣanta girī-rājaṁ divaṁ gatāḥ | asūryo 'pi hi deśaḥ sa tasya bhāsaḥ prakāśate | sasūrya iva laxmīvāṁs tapatīva divākaro | bhagavāṁs tatra bhūtātmā svayambhūr bahudhātmakaḥ | Brahmā bhavati vaśyātmā sarvātmā sarva-bhāvanaḥ |*

Page 56, line 23.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sītā after she had been carried off by Rāvana, which is given in the Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa or fourth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Vishṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of the original meaning of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54 ff. (Calc. ed.)[6]—*Tataḥ paraṁ homamayaḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya koṭir divaṁ spṛishṭvā śata-yojanam āyatā | jātarūpamayī divyā virājati sa-vedikā | . . . . 57. Tatra yojana-vistāram uchchritaṁ daśa-yojanam | śriṅgaiḥ Saumanasam nāma jātarūpamayaṁ dhruvam | 58. Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛitvā purā Vishṇus trivikrame (trivikramaḥ* Gorr.) *| dvitīyaṁ śikhare Meroś chakāra purushottamaḥ | 59. Uttareṇa parikramya Jambūdvīpaṁ divākaraḥ | dṛiśyo bhavati bhūyishṭhaṁ śikharaṁ tad mahochchrayam (dṛiśyo bhavati bhūtānāṁ śikharaṁ tam upāśritaḥ |* Gorr.) 54. "Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . 57. There with its pinnacles stands the firm, golden Saumanasa, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Vishṇu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north, he is mostly visible on that lofty peak;" (or, 'he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak.' Gorr.).

The commentator does not throw much light on the matter in his remarks on v. 58: *Tatra śata-yojana-dīrghe Udaya-giri-śikhare tatra Saumanase śṛinge trivikrame tribhiḥ padais triloky-ākramaṇa-prastāve prathamam padam Meroḥ śikhare chakāra |* On v. 59: *Athānantaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvīpam parikramya tam mahochchrayaṁ śikharam Saumanasākhyam prāpya sthito divākaro Jambu-dvīpa-varttinām bhūyishṭham dṛishṭo bhavati Saumanasa-śikhare ity arthaḥ | idam satya-yugābhiprāyaṁ tretāyāṁ xīra-sāgara-madhya-gasya dvāpare suroda-madhya-gasya kalau Laṅkā-madhya-gasya Jambudvīpa-stha-manushya-dṛiśyatāyā anyatroktatvāt |* "On this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas

[6] Gorresio has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.

lofty, on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Vishṇu] placed his first step on the summit of Meru." [Some words would seem to be left out here, as the commentator now contradicts the text, and says nothing of the second step.] On v. 59 he remarks: "Afterwards when the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north, he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that dvīpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambudvīpa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lankā."

The three steps of Vishṇu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in book vi. 39, 22 (Calc. ed.), it is said: *Prāsādaiścha vimānaiś cha Laṇkā parama-bhūshita | ghanair ivātapāpāye madhyamaṁ Vaishṇavam padam* | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Vishṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Vishṇu by *ākāśa*. This passage may refer either to the original, or to the legendary, sense of Vishṇu's steps.

Page 146, *line* 29.

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3 of the First Book, as given in the Calcutta edition and in Schlegel's, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rama; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio's edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 18 (Calc. ed.), Rāma is described as "resembling Vishṇu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon." The former epithet would imply that he was not Vishṇu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus

on the expression: *Yadyapi Rāmo Vishṇur eva sarva-rūpaś cha tathāpi mānushopādhi-bhedāt sarvatra sādṛiśyaṁ drashṭavyam | yadvā Vishṇunā sadṛiśa ity ananvayālaṅkāraḥ* | "Although Rāma was no other than Vishṇu, still from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (*ananvayālaṅkāra*)." See Professor Goldstücker's Dictionary under this word.

In the text, pp. 142–145, following Schlegel and Lassen, I have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth section in Schlegel's edition, has some appearance of not having formed a portion of the original poem. The edition lately published in Calcutta, which frequently differs in its readings from Schlegel's, omits vv. 5–11 of the section in question (the fourteenth) as given in Schlegel's; and passes at once from the fourth to the twelfth verse. In the account which follows of the request preferred by the gods to Vishṇu to become incarnate in the sons of Daśaratha, etc., the two editions differ in their arrangement of details, but not in the substance. In the Calcutta edition the words *pitaraṁ rochayāmāsa tadā Daśaratham nṛipam* ("he accepted as his father the king Daśaratha") which occur in section 15, 32, are repeated in section 16, 8.

In the text, pp. 145 f., I have given the account of the birth of Daśaratha's sons according to Schlegel's edition. I now subjoin the description of the same event as found in the Calc. ed. and in Gorresio's:

[Calc. ed., sect. 18, vv. 8 ff.]

8. *Tato yajñe samāpte tu ṛitūnaṁ shaṭ samatyayuḥ | tataś cha dvādaśe māse chaitre nāvamike tithau* | 9. *Naxatre 'diti-daivatye svochcha-saṁstheshu pañchasu | graheshu karkaṭe lagne Vākpatāv Indunā saha* | 10. *Prodyamāne jagannāthāṁ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmaṁ divya-laxaṇa-saṁyutam* | 11. *Vishṇor ardham mahābhāgam putram Aixvāku-nan-*

[Gorr. ed., sect. 19, vv. 10 ff.]

10. *Tāsām prajajñire putrāś chatvāro 'mita-tejasaḥ | Rāma-Laxmaṇa-Śatrughna-Bharatā deva-rūpiṇaḥ* | 11. *Janma-tejo-guṇa-jyeshṭham putram apratimaujasam | Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmaṁ Vishṇu-tulya-parākramam* | 12. (almost the same as v. 12 of the Calc. ed.) 13. *Bhavāya sa hi lokānām Rāvaṇasya badhāya cha | Vishṇor vīryyārdhato jajñe Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ* | 14.

danam | lohitāxam mahābāhuṁ rāktoshṭham dundubhi-svanam | 12. Kauśalyā śuśubhe tena putreṇāmita-tejasā | yathā vāreṇa[9] devānām Aditir Vajrapāṇinā | 13. Bharato nāma Kaikeyyām jajñe satya-parākramaḥ | sākshād Vishṇoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | 14. Atha Laxmaṇa-Śatrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | vīrau sarvāstra-kuśalau Vishṇor arddha-samanvitau | 15. Pushye jātas tu Bharato mīnalagne prasanna-dhīḥ | Śārpe jātau tu Saumitrī kulīre 'bhyudite ravau | 16. Rājñaḥ putrā mahātmānaś chatvāro jajñire pṛithak | guṇavanto 'nurūpāścha ruchyā proshṭhapadopamāḥ |

Tejo-vīryyādhikaḥ śūraḥ śrīmān guṇa-gaṇākaraḥ | babhūvānantaraś chaiva Śakrād Vishṇoś cha paurushe | 15. Tathā Laxmaṇa-Śatrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛiḍha-bhaktī mahotsāhau Rāmasyāvarajau guṇaiḥ | 16. Tāv apy āstām chatur-bhāgau Vishṇoḥ sampiṇḍitāv ubhau | eka eka-chaturbhāgād aparasmād ajāyata | 17. Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāḥ putraḥ satya-parākramaḥ | dharmātmā cha mahātmā cha prakhyāta-bala-vikramaḥ | 19. Sa chaturbhir mahābhāgaiḥ putrair Daśaratho vṛitaḥ | babhūva parama-prīto devair iva Pitāmahaḥ | 20. Teshām ketur iva śreshṭho Rāmo loka-hite rataḥ | Śrayambhūr iva devānāṁ sarveshāṁ sama-darśanaḥ |

[Calcutta edition.]

8 ff. "After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,— Kausalyā brought forth Rāma, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of celestial marks, (11) a son of high destinies,

[Gorresio's edition.]

After naming Dasaratha's wives, the narrative proceeds:

10. "To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rāma, Laxmaṇa, Śatrughna, and Bharata, in fashion like the gods. Kauśalyā brought forth Rāma, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Vishṇu. 12. (=v. 12 of the Calc. ed.) 13. For this lotus-eyed Rāma was born from the half of Vishṇu's generative

[9] I do not know what *vāreṇa* means, if this reading be correct. Perhaps we should read *vareṇa* or *avareṇa*. The other editions have *adhipena*.

the half of Vishṇu, and gladdener of the race of Ixvāku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kauśalyā received lustre from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wields the thunderbolt. 13. [A son] called Bharata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaikeyī, who was manifestly the fourth part of Vishṇu. 14. Then Sumitrā bore two sons, Laxmaṇa and Śatrughna, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishṇu.[11] 15. But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunar mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under Sārpa or (the ninth lunar mansion) when the sun had risen in Cancer. The four great sons of the king were separately born, possessing great qualities, resembling one another, and in brilliancy like the constellation Proshṭhapadā."

power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Rāvaṇa.[10] 14. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu. 15. So too Sumitrā bore two sons, Laxmaṇa and Śatrughna, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. These two also, combined, were derived from the fourth part of Vishṇu. From the other fourth part there was born to Kaikeyī, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power and energy. . . . . 19. Dasaratha, surrounded by his four sons of high destinies, was highly pleased, like Pitāmaha, attended by the gods. 20. Rāma, devoted to the good of the worlds, was, like a banner, the most eminent among them, like Svayambhū among the gods, and impartial to all."

The Calcutta edition has not the verse which is found as the *fifth* in Schlegel's edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio's, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its *eleventh* verse (which is not in Schlegel's edition) that the half of Vishṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 146 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel's edition, applies to this recension also—viz., that the verses which refer

[10] This verse though not in the Calcutta edition, is to be found in Schlegel's as the fifth.

[11] Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.

to Dasaratha's sons being incarnations of Vishṇu might be omitted with little injury to the connection. The account of Bharata, Laxmaṇa, and Śatrughna, given in vv. 13-15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Laxmaṇa and Śatrughna, the narrator recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata's mother, and the names of Sumitrā's sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio's text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Dasaratha's sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem.[12] The *twelfth* verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra, and also the *fourteenth* verse (Gorr.) in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], could scarcely have formed part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was described, as it would not exalt the reader's conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Vishṇu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth vol., as follows: "This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the *avatāra* of Vishṇu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishṇu, and consequently Vishṇu himself in a human form, the epithet *not inferior to Vishṇu* which is here assigned to him has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered."

Again, it is related in the Araṇya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio's edition, that when the Rākxasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: *Tato devarshi-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | ūchuḥ parama-santrastā guhyakāś cha parasparam | chatur-daśa sahasrāṇi rakxasām bhīma-karma-*

[12] Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (vol. i. Preface, p. lii).

ṇām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham bhavishyati | Rāmo no vidito yo 'yaṁ yathā cha vasudhāṁ gataḥ | manushyatvaṁ tu matvā 'sya kāruṇyād vyathitam manaḥ | nardantīva chamūs teshāṁ raxasāṁ kāmarūpiṇām | nānā-rikṛita-veśāṇāṁ Rāmāśramam upāgamat | "Then the gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: 'There are fourteen thousands of Rāxasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who this Rāma is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature, our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rāxasas, who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises, has approached the hermitage of Rāma, shouting.' "

In the Calc. ed. iii. 23, 19 ff., however, the words ascribed to the gods, etc., are quite different: *Tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | sameyuścha mahātmāno yuddha-darśana-kāṇxayā* | 20. *Ṛishayaś mahātmāno loke brahmarshi-sattamāḥ | sametya chochuḥ sahitās te 'nyonyam puṇya-karmaṇaḥ*[13] | 21. *Svasti go-brāhmaṇānāñcha lokānāṁ cheti saṁsthitāḥ*[14] | *jayatāṁ Rāghavo yuddhe Paulastyān rajanīcharān* | 22. *Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-puṅgavān | evam uktvā puṇaḥ prochur ālokya cha parasparam* | 23. *Chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi raxasām bhīma-karmaṇām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham bhavishyati* | 24. *Iti rājarshayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṇāś cha dvijarshabhāḥ | jāta-kautūhalās tasthur vimāna-sthāś cha devatāḥ* | 25. *Āvishṭaṁ tejasā Rāmaṁ saṅgrāma-śirasi sthitam | dṛishṭvā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhayād viryathire tadā* | 26. *Rūpam apratimaṁ tasya Rāmasyāklishṭakarmaṇaḥ | babhūva rūpaṁ kruddhasya Rudrasyeva mahātmanaḥ* | . . . . . 35. *Tasya rushṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasya dadṛiśe tadā | Daxasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatasya Pināķinaḥ*[15] | "19. Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇas, (20) and the great rishis, the most excellent Brahman rishis assembled in the world, eager to witness the battle: and being assembled, these holy beings thus spoke to one another: 21. 'Blessings be upon cows and Brahmans, and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rāxasas, the

[13] *Adīrghatvam ārsham* | Comm.

[14] I do not see how these words are to be interpreted; but they are of no consequence.

[15] This verse as given in Gorresio's edition will be found above, p. 313, note.

descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishṇu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. 'There are fourteen thousands of Rākṣasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together?' 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahman rishis, with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like the form of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . . 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pināk in (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Daxa."

From a comparison of these passages as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Calcutta edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vishṇu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rākṣasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Calc. ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related that both he and his brother Laxmaṇa were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvana.

In the following citations I shall use the Calcutta edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said: *Rāma-Laxmaṇayor eva sarva-deha-bhidaḥ śarān | bhṛiśam āveśayāmāsa Rāvaṇiḥ samitiñjayaḥ | nirantara-śarīrau tu tāv ubhau Rāma-Laxmaṇau | kruddhenendrajiṭā vīrau pannagaiḥ śaratāñ gataiḥ | tayoḥ xata-ja-mārgeṇa sūsrāva rudhiram bahu | . . . . 16. Baddhau tu śara-bandhena tāv ubhau raṇa-mūrdhani | nimeshāntara-mātreṇa na śekatur avexitum | 22. Papāta prathamañ Rāmo viddho marmasu mārgaṇaiḥ |*

krodhād Indrajitā yena purā Śakro 'pi nirjitaḥ | "The son of Rāvana, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Laxmāṇa. Both of these two heroes had their bodies [wounded] in every spot by the incensed Indrajit with serpents which had taken the form of arrows. Much blood flowed through the openings formed by their wounds. . . . . 16. Bound by the chain (or, smitten by the stroke?) of these arrows in the front of the battle, those two could not look up even for a moment.[16] . . . . 22. Rāma first fell, pierced in the most vital parts, in anger, by Indrajit, by whom even Indra had formerly been conquered."[17] Their allies the monkeys arrive and find the two brothers lying helpless. Sect. 46, 3 ff. . . . . *Anvaśochanta Rāghavau* | *aceshṭau manda-niśvāsau śoṇitena pariplutau* | *śara-jālānvitau stabdhau śayānau śara-talpa-gau* | *niśvasantau yathā sarpau niśceshṭau dīna-vikramau* | *ityādi* | "They bewailed the two descendants of Raghu incapable of effort, breathing slowly, bathed in blood, wounded with a mass of arrows, stiff, lying on a bed of arrows, breathing like serpents, helpless, their vigour quelled," etc. Vibhīshaṇa comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Laxmaṇa would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.): *Athavā rakṣyatāṁ Rāmo yāvat saṁjñā-viparyayaḥ* | *labdha-saṁjñau hi Kākutsthau bhayaṁ nau vyapaneshyataḥ* | *naitat kiṁchana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo mumūrshati* | *na hy enaṁ hāsyate Laxmīr durlabhā yā gatāyushām* | "Or, let Rāma be guarded while his insensibility continues. When the two descendants of Kakutstha have recovered their senses, they shall remove our fear. This [mishap] of Rāma is nothing; he is not about to die: for Good Fortune (Laxmī), who is beyond the reach of the dead, will not abandon him."

It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Laxmī being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator's remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below).

[16] On this the commentator remarks: *Na śekatur avexitum* | *tādṛisāv iva sthitau manushyatva-naṭanāya iti bodhyam* | "'Could not look up:' remained, *as it were*, in this condition. This is to be understood as done to act (*i.e.* simulate) humanity (*i.e.* that they were mere men)."

[17] Indrajit's victory over Indra is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, section 34. He was originally called Meghanāda, but after he had taken Indra captive, he received from Brahmā the name of *Indra-jit*, or the "conqueror of Indra," *ibid.* section 35.

In the next section (the forty-seventh) it is related that Rāvana sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Raxasī Trijaṭā, to the spot where Rāma and Laxmaṇa were lying wounded and helpless; and that on seeing these brothers, "powerful as the sons of the gods" (*deva-suta-prabhāvau*, v. 24), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in which she alludes to the two brothers having had various divine weapons (but says nothing of their divine nature). Though they resembled Vāsava (Indra), they were slain, she says, by the magic of the invisible foe; and Fate, she adds, is hard to be overcome (vv. 16 ff.: *Nanu Vāruṇam Āgneyam Aindraṁ Vāyavyam eva cha | astram Brahma-śiraś chaiva Rāghavau pratyapadyata | adṛiśyamānena raṇe māyayā Vāsavopamau | . . . . . nihatau | . . . . . 19. Na Kālasyāti-bhāro 'sti kṛitāntaś cha sudurjayaḥ |*). Sītā is then consoled by the Raxasī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says: *Nemau śakyau raṇe jetuṁ sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | tādṛiśaṁ darśanam dṛishṭvā mayā chodīritaṁ tava | idaṁ tu sumahach chitraṁ śaraiḥ paśyasva Maithili | visañjñau patitāv etau naiva Laxmīr vimuñchati | prāyeṇa gata-sattvānām purushāṇāṁ gatāyushām | dṛiśyamāneshu vaktreshu param bhavati vaikṛitam |* "These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight (vision?) I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Laxmī) does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives and whose breath has departed."

While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3): *Etasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata vīryyavān | sthiratvāt satya-yogāchcha*[18] *śaraiḥ sandāmito 'pi san |* "In the meantime the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame (?), though he had been overcome by the arrows." He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Laxmaṇa, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: *Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaiḥ*).

In sect. 50, Vibhīshana laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of

[18] *Mahā-bala-yuktatvāt* | Comm. Gorresio's edition reads *sattva-yogachcha*.

becoming king of Laṅkā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): *Rāyjyam prāpsyasi dharma-jña Laṅkāyāṁ neha saṁśayaḥ | Rāvaṇaḥ saha putreṇa sva-kāmaṁ neha lapsyate | Garuḍādhishṭhitāv etāv ubhau Rāghava-Laxmaṇau | tyaktvā moham badhishyete sa-gaṇaṁ Rāvaṇaṁ raṇe* | "Thou, o [prince], well-skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Laṅkā; but Rāvana and his son shall not attain the object of their desire." He adds another prophecy: "Both Rāma and Laxmaṇa are superintended by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvana with his hosts." Sugrīva, however, proposes to remove Rāma and Laxmaṇa from the scene of action to Kishkindhyā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvana, and bring back Sītā, as Indra recovered the lost Śrī (24 f.: *Saha śūraiḥ hari-gaṇair labdha-saṁjñāv arindamau | gachha tvam bhrātarau gṛihya Kishkindhyāṁ Rāma-Laxmaṇau | ahaṁ tu Rāvaṇaṁ hatvā sa-putraṁ saha-bāndhavam | Maithilīm ānayishyāmi Sakro nashṭām iva Śriyam* |).[19]

Suṣeṇa, another of the monkeys, then relates (vv. 26–32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Vṛihaspati by herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring those herbs. The Calcutta edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. But in Gorresio's text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Calcutta edition:

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11°.—*Athainam upasaṅgamya Vāyuḥ karṇe vacho 'bravīt | Rāma Rāma mahābāho ātmānaṁ smara vai hṛidā | Nārāyaṇas tvam bhagavān Rāxasārthe 'vatāritaḥ | smara sarpa-bhujaṁ devaṁ Vainateyam mahābalam | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorāt tu yuvāṁ sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanaṁ śrutvā Rāghavo Raghunandanaḥ | sasmāra Garuḍaṁ devam bhujagānām bhayāvaham* | "Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine

[19] In Gorresio's edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27-41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Calcutta edition.

Nārāyaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rākṣasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.' Hearing Vāyu's words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terrifier of serpents."

The omission of these verses in the Calcutta edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions, Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as enquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio's edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, *i.e.* summoned him. The verses in which this is shewn are as follows (Calc. ed. 50, 37 ff.): *Tam āgatam abhiprexya nāgās te vipradudruwuḥ | yais tu tau purushau baddhau śara-bhūtair mahābalaiḥ | tataḥ Suparṇaḥ Kākutsthau sprishṭvā pratyabhinandya cha | vimamarśa cha pāṇibhyām mukhe chandra-sama-prabhe | Vainateyena saṁsprishṭās tayoḥ samruruhur*[20] *vraṇāḥ | suvarṇe cha tanū snigdhe tayor āśu babhūvatuḥ | 40. Tejo vīryam balaṁ chaiva utsāhaścha mahā-guṇaḥ | pradarśanañcha buddhiścha smṛitiś cha dviguṇā tayoḥ | tāv utthāpya mahā-tejā Garuḍo Vāsavopamau | ubhau cha sasvaje hṛishṭau Rāmaś chainam uvācha ha | bhavat-prasādād vyasanaṁ Rāvaṇi-prabhavam mahat | upāyena vyatikrāntau śīghraṁ cha balinau kṛitau | yathā tātaṁ Daśa-rathaṁ yathā 'jaṁcha pitāmaham | tathā bhavantam āsādya hṛidayam me prasīdati | 44. Ko bhavān rūpa-sampanno divya-srag-anulepanaḥ |* "Beholding him arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows, these two heroes had been bound (or, wounded), took to flight. Then Garuḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuḍa, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra, who were delighted; and Rāma thus addressed him: 'By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have quickly got over the great calamity inflicted

[20] *Yathā-pūrvaṁ saṁrūḍha-māṁsā abhūvan* | Comm.

by the son of Rāvana, and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who art thou,[21] distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?'" etc.

The corresponding passage in Gorresio's edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is represented as enquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma's question Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the serpents. He finally assures him that he should slay Rāvana and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: *pradaxiṇaṁ tataḥ kṛitvā parishvajya cha*).[22]

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi. sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasta, one of the Rāxasas, Mandodarī, Rāvana's queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): *Na cha mānusha-mātro 'sau Rāmo Daśarathātmajaḥ | ekena yena vai pūrvam bahavo rāxasā hatāḥ |* "Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rāxasas have

[21] In his remarks on vv. 40, 41 of the Calc. ed. the commentator considers it necessary to explain how what is there said is consistent with Rāma's divine character: *Dviguṇā Vainateya-sparśāt pūrvato 'py adhikā | atra anyair devair avatīryya bha[ga ?]vato Rāmasya mūla-mūrtteḥ rājñaḥ upakāraḥ sampādito Garuḍena tūhya-rūpata eva iti bodhyam* |. . . "Though formerly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered to the divine king Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but [this was effected] through Garuḍa in an inferrible (?) manner." In his remarks on v. 44, the same commentator says: "*Ko bhavān" ity ayam praśno 'pi manushya-śarīrochita-vyavahāra eva tat-satyatva-pratyāpanārthaḥ | atra Rāma-samīpā-gamana-paryantam paxy-ākāreṇaiva āgatya sannidhi-mātreṇa nāga-bandhanañcha nirasya Rāghava-sparśanādy-artham (? antam) purushākāreṇa vyavahṛitavān iti bodhyam* | "This question 'who art thou?' also conforms to the usage suitable [to Rāma's assumption of] a human body, and is designed to convince men of its reality. Here it is to be understood that the author accommodates to Rāma's human character the entire narrative from [Garuḍa's] approach, [including] his appearance in the form of a bird, and his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, up to his touching Rāma," etc.

[22] From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: *Pradaxiṇaṁ kṛitvā iti anena divya-devatāvatāro Rāmaḥ iti* | "By these words 'having walked round him, with the right side towards him,' it is intimated that Rāma was a divine being, an incarnation of a celestial deity.'"

been slain." The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur, is not, however, to be found in the Calcutta edition, which omits verses 7–51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio's edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Calc. ed.) it is related that Laxmaṇa was wounded by Rāvana with a dart given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105–7); but that when Rāvana tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): *Himavān Mandaro Merus trailokyaṁ vā sahāmaraiḥ | śakyam bhujābhyām uddhartṭuṁ na saṅkhye Bharatānujaḥ | śaktyā brāhmyā tu Saumitris tāḍito 'pi stanāntare | Vishṇor amīmāṁsya-bhāgam ātmānam pratyanusmaran |* "Himavat, Mandara, Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata in battle. But Laxmaṇa, though smitten on the chest with the dart given by Brahmā, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Vishṇu." Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Vishṇor bhāgam amīmāṁsyam ātmānam pratyanusmaran.* Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio's edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88, are *Vishṇor achintyo yo bhāgo mānushaṁ deham āsthitaḥ |* "The inconceivable portion of Vishṇu residing in a human body." The expressions, however, may be later interpolations in both editions.

In the same sect. (59, Calc. ed.) it is related that Rāvana was defeated by Rāma, and compelled to return to Laṅkā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): *Sarvaṁ tat khalu me moghaṁ yat taptam paramaṁ tapaḥ | yat samāno Mahendreṇa mānusheṇāsmi nirjitaḥ | idam tad Brahmaṇo ghoraṁ vākyam mām abhyupasthitam | "manushyebhyo vijānīhi bhayaṁ tvam iti tat tathā | deva-dānava-gandharvair yaxa-rāxasa-pannagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayā proktam mānushebhyo na yāchitam" | tam imam mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathātmajam | Ixvāku-kula-jātena hy Anaraṇyena*[23] *yat purā | utpatsyati hi mad-vaṁśe purusho*

[23] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 371: "Whose (Sambhūta's) son was Anaraṇya, who was slain by Rāvaṇa in his triumphant progress through the nations" (*tato 'naraṇyas | taṁ Rāvaṇo dig-vijaye jaghāna*). Here, and in the legend related in the Second Vol. of this work, p. 437, note 106, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the Rāmāyaṇa, is referred to.

The story of Anaraṇya is, however, told in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa,

rāxasādhama | yas tvāṁ sa-putraṁ sāmātyam sa-balaṁ sāśva-sārathim | nihanishyati saṇgrāme tvāṁ kulādhama durmate | śapto 'ham Vedavatyā cha yathā sā dharshitā purā | 11. *Seyaṁ Sītā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nandinī |. Umā Nandīśvaraś chāpi Rambhā Varuṇa-kanyakā | yatholtās*[24] *tan mayā prāptaṁ na mithyā ṛishi-bhāshitam | etad eva samāgamya yatnaṁ karttum ihārhatha |* "All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when he said]: 'know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yaxas, Rāxasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.' This man I consider to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anaraṇya of the race of Ixvāku; 'There shall arise among my posterity a man who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rāxasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavatī when she was insulted by me: it is she who has been born as the great Sītā, the gladdener of Janaka. And that which Umā, Nandīśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa[25] uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishis[26] is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions.'"

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original

section 19. Dushyanta, Suratha, Gādhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods, yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, to Rāvaṇa on his victorious march through the world. Anaraṇya, a descendant of Ixvāku, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvaṇa triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaṇa is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaṇa should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: *Utpatsyate kule hy asminn Ixvākūṇām mahātmanām | Rāmo Dāśarathir nāma yas te prāṇān harishyati*).

[24] *Yatholtavantaḥ . . . . yad uchuḥ . . . . iti pāṭhāntaram* | Comm.

[25] The legends connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the commentator.

[26] The commentator remarks here: *ṛishi-padena tapo-yuktā uchyante* | "The word *ṛishi* denotes persons distinguished by austerity." It would thus refer to Vedavatī and others.

legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rākxasas.

[Most of the legends referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anaraṇya will be found in note 23.

The rather pretty story of Vedavatī is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows: Rāvana, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himālaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavatī, and is the vocal daughter (*vāṇmayī kanyā*) of Vṛihaspati's son, the rishi Kuśadhvaja, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, gandharvas, etc., she says, wished that she should choose a husband, but her father would give her to no one else than to Vishṇu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12: *Pitus tu mama jāmātā Vishṇuḥ kila sureśvaraḥ | abhiprotas trilokeśas tasmān nāsyasiya me pitā | dātum ichhati tasmai tu |*). This resolution provoked Śambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhvaja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given) after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16): *Tato manorathaṁ satyam pitur Nārāyaṇam prati | karomīti tam evāhaṁ hṛidayena samudvahe | iti pratijñām āruhya charāmi vipulaṁ tapaḥ | . . .* 18. *Nārāyaṇo mama patir na tv anyaḥ purushottamāt | āśraye niyamaṁ ghoraṁ Nārāyaṇa-parīpsayā |* "In order that I may fulfil this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart.[27] Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Purushottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance." Rāvana's passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prays that she who is so young and beautiful, shall become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Vishṇu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contemn

[27] This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.

that deity. On receiving this reply, he touches the hair of her head with the tip of his finger (27). She is greatly incensed, and forthwith cuts off her hair, and tells him that as he has so insulted her, she cannot continue to live, but will enter into the fire before his eyes. She goes on (v. 31 ff.): *Yasmāt tu dharshitā chāhaṁ tvayā pāpātmanā vane | tasmāt tava badhārthaṁ hi samutpatsyaty aham (samutpatsyati samutpatsye ity arthaḥ |* Comm.) *punaḥ | nahi śakyaḥ striyā hantum purushaḥ pāpa-niśchayaḥ | śāpe tvayi mayotsṛishṭe tapasaś cha vyayo bhavet | yadi tv asti mayā kiñchit kṛitaṁ dattaṁ hutaṁ tathā | tasmat tv a-yonijā sādhvī bhaveyaṁ dharmiṇaḥ sutā | evam uktvā pravishṭā sā jvalitaṁ jātavedasam | papāta cha divo divyā pushpa-vṛishṭiḥ samantataḥ | saishā Janaka-rājasya prasūtā tanayā prabho | tava bhāryyā mahābāho Vishṇus tvaṁ hi sanātanaḥ | pūrvaṁ krodha-hataḥ śatrur yayā 'sau nihatas tayā | upāśrayitvā śailābhas tava vīryyam amānusham |* "'Since I have been insulted in the forest by thee who art wicked-hearted, I shall be born again for thy destruction. For a man of evil design cannot be slain by a woman; and the merit of my austerity would be lost if I were to launch a curse against thee. But if I have performed, or bestowed, or sacrificed, aught, may I be born the virtuous daughter, not produced from the womb, of a righteous man.' Having thus spoken, she entered the blazing fire. Then a shower of celestial flowers fell from every part of the sky. It is she, lord, who (having been Vedavatī in the Kṛita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of the king of the Janakas, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the eternal Vishṇu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, having recourse to thy superhuman energy." On this the commentator remarks: *Anena Sītaiva Rāvaṇa-badhe mukhyaṁ kāraṇam Rāme tu hantṛitvam āropitam iti sūchitam |* "By this it is signified that Sītā was the principal cause of Rāvaṇa's death; but the function of destroying him is ascribed to Rāma." On the words "thou art Vishṇu," in the preceding verse, the same commentator remarks: *Anena Sītāyā Laxmītvaṁ sphuṭam evoktam | tad uktam Parāśareṇa "Rāghavatve 'bhavat Sītā Rukmiṇī Kṛishṇa-janmani" iti |* "By this it is clearly affirmed that Sītā was Laxmī. This is what Parāśara says: 'In the god's life as Rāma, she became Sītā, and in his birth as Kṛishṇa [she became] Rukminī.'"

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about

Umā, but the commentator[28] connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandīśvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (v. 1 ff.): After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvaṇa went to Saravaṇa, the birth-place of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain he sees another delightful wood, where his car Pushpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then sees a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandīśvara, a follower of Mahādeva, who desires him to halt, as that deity is sporting on the mountain, and has made it inaccessible to all creatures, the gods included (v. 10). Rāvaṇa angrily demands who Sankara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandīśvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandīśvara who was another body (*aparā tanuḥ*) of Śiva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvaṇa's race (v. 17: *Tasmād mad-vīryya-saṁyuktā mad-rūpa-sama-tejasaḥ | utpatsyanti badhārthaṁ hi kulasya tava vānarāḥ |*). Nandīśvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvaṇa now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvaṇa threatens (v. 23 ff.) that as his car has been stopped, he will pluck up the mountain by the roots, asking in virtue of what power Śiva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvaṇa then throws his arms under the mountain, which, being lifted by him, shakes, and makes the hosts of Rudra tremble, and even Pārvatī herself quake, and cling to her husband (v. 26: *Chachāla Pārvatī chāpi tadā śliṣhṭā Maheśvaram*). Śiva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvaṇa, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvaṇa's counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahādeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being lauded will become gracious. Rāvaṇa accordingly praises Mahādeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahādeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvaṇa's arms, says his name shall be Rāvaṇa from the cry (*rāva*) he had uttered, and sends him away, with the gift of a sword bestowed on him at his request (v. 43).

[28] His words are: *Kailāśa-śikhara-chālana-velāyāṁ Rāvaṇasya strī-nimittam maraṇam ity evaṁ-rūpam ity āhuḥ |* "They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāsa a curse was pronounced on Rāvaṇa that he should die on account of a woman."

The legend of Rambhā is narrated in the thirty-first section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambhā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Rāvaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtezans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (*chaxur-ādīndriya-gaṇaṁ sarvam* | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvaṇa: v. 54. *Akāmā tena yasmāt tvam balād bhadre pradharshitā* | 55. *Tasmāt sa yuvatīm anyāṁ nākāmām upayāsyati* | *yadā hy akāmāṁ kāmārtto dharshayishyati yoshitam* | *mūrdhā tu saptadhā tasya śakalībhavitā tadā* | "Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsel who does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split into seven fragments." Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṇa resolves to abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any story about the daughter of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the allusion to her thus: *Varuṇa-kanyakā Puñjikasthalī tan-nimittam brahma-śāpaḥ strī-dharshaṇe maraṇa-rūpaḥ* | "The daughter of Varuṇa was Punjikasthalī. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women."]

After expressing himself as above (p. 490), Rāvana desires his brother Kumbhakarna (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā,[29] slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day) to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbhakarṇa asks (vv. 67 ff.) why they have awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: *mānushān no bhayaṁ rājan tumulam sampradhāvitam* | *ityādi*); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Laxmaṇa. After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult with his brother Rāvana; who, in answer to his enquiry, describes to him (sect. 62) the present position of

[29] See sect. 61, v. 28.

affairs, and the necessity there is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarṇa, in reply, delivers (sect. 63, vv. 2–21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Rāvana's conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's antecedents; and is told by Rāvana in answer (vv. 23–27) that this is not the time for such lectures, but for action, to which he calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions to valour. Kumbhakarṇa then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarṇa, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of the same personage, which occupies vv. 30–53 of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Rāvana which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Calcutta edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v. p. xlvi.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some account must, however, be given of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarṇa gives the same account of the divine origin of Rāma, as we have already met in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 139 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rāxasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. x. 40, 44 ff. ed. Gorr.): *Evam ukte tu vachane Brahmā devān uvācha ha | abadhyatvam mayā dattam deva-daityaiścha rāxasaiḥ | mānushebhyo bhayañ tasya vānarebhyaścha devatāḥ | surāsura-samūho 'pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād esha Harir devaḥ padma-nābhas trivikramaḥ | putro Daśarathasyāstu chaturbāhuḥ sanātanaḥ | bhavanto vasudhāñ gatvā Vishṇor asya mahātmanaḥ | vānarāṇām tanuñ kṛitvā sāhāyatvam karishyatha |* "When [the priest of the gods Vṛihaspati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: 'I have conferred [on Rāvana] indestructibility by gods Daityas and Rāxasas: he has, o gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the gods or Asuras. Wherefore let this god Hari (Vishṇu) from whose navel sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Vishṇu.'" Kumbhakarṇa

says that Vishṇu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sītā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Vishṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff. ed. Gorr.): *Ko 'sau Vishṇur iti khyāto yasya tvam tāta bibhyase | devatve na namasye tam tathā 'nyān devatā-gaṇān | manushyatvaṁ gate tasmin kim bhayam tvām upasthitam | nityam samara-bhītāstu mānushāḥ sumahābala | khādayitvā tu tān pūrvaṁ katham paśohād namāmy aham | praṇamya mānushaṁ Rāmam Sītām datvā tu tasya vai | hāsya-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāsyāmi prishṭhataḥ | Rāghavāṁ tam mahābāho dīna-rūpo 'tha dāsa-vat | riddhiṁ cha paśyamāno 'sya kathaṁ śaxyāmi jīvitum | hṛitvā tasya purā bhāryyām mānaṁ kṛitvā sudāruṇam | praṇamed Rāvaṇo Rāmam esha te buddhi-nirṇayaḥ | yadi Rāmaḥ svayaṁ Vishṇur Laxmaṇo 'pi Satakratuḥ | Sugrīvas Tryambakaḥ sāxāt svayam Brahmā tu Jāmbavān | aho śāstrāṇy adhītāni yasya te buddhir idṛiśī | atītāśramiṇaṁ Rāmaṁ yo namaskarttum ichhasi | devatvaṁ yaḥ parityajya mānushīṁ yonim āśritaḥ | asmān hantuṁ khilāyātaḥ sa sandheyaḥ katham mayā | yadivā Rāghavo Vishṇur vyaktaṁ te śrotram āgataḥ | devatānām hitārthaṁ tu pravishṭo mānushīṁ tanum | sa vānarāṇām rājānaṁ Sugrīvam śaraṇāṁ gataḥ | aho 'sya sadriśaṁ sakhyaṁ tiryagyoni-gataiḥ saha | vīryya-hīnas tu kiṁ Vishṇur yaḥ śritaḥ ṛixa-vānarān | athavā vīryya-hīno 'sau yena pūrvam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya yāchitas tripadaḥ padam | Balis tu dīxito yajñe tena tvaṁ sakhyaṁ ichhasi | yena dattā mahī sarvā sa-sāgara-vanāṇṇavā | upachāra-kṛitā pūrvam sa baddho yajña-dīxitaḥ | upakārī hatas tena so 'smān rxati vairiṇaḥ | yadā me nirjitā devāḥ svargaṁ gatvā tvayā saha | tadā kim nāsti Vishṇutvaṁ tasya devasya Rāxasa | sāmprataṁ kuta āyātaḥ sa Vishṇur yasya bibhyase | śārīra-rxaṇārthāya brūshe tvaṁ vākyam īdṛiśam | nāyaṁ klīvayituṁ kālaḥ kālo yoddhuṁ niśāchara | svāmyam Pitāmahāt prāptaṁ trailokyaṁ vaśa-ṇaṁ kṛitam | Rāghavam praṇame kasmād hīna-vīryya-parākramam | tad gachha śayanīyaṁ tvam piva tvam vigata-jvaraḥ | śayamānaṁ na hanyāt tvāṁ Rāghavo Laxmaṇas tathā | ahaṁ Rāmam badhishyāmi Sugrīvañcha sa-Laxmaṇam | vānarāṁścha hanishyāmi tato devān mahāraṇe | Vishṇuñchaiva badhishyami ye cha Vishṇv-anuyāyinaḥ | gachha gachhasva tat xetraṁ chiraṁ jīva sukhī bhava | bhrātaraṁ tv evam uktvā 'sau Rāvaṇaḥ Kāla-choditaḥ | sāvalepaṁ sa-garjañcha punar vachanam abravīt | jānāmi Sītām dharaṇī-prasūtāṁ jānāmi Rāmam Madhusū-*

danañcha | etad hi jāne tv aham asya badhyas tenāhṛitā me Janakātmajaishā[30] *| na 'kāmāchchaiva na krodhād dharāmi Janakātmajām | nihato gantum ichhāmi tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padam |*

"Who is that being called Vishṇu, whom thou fearest? In his divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods: what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying reverence to the mortal Rāma, and restoring Sītā, how could I,—an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Rāghava in humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live? This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rāma's wife, and manifesting terrible haughtiness, Rāvaṇa should bow down before him! Even if Rāma were Vishṇu himself, and Laxmaṇa were Indra, if Sugrīva were Tryambaka (Śiva), and if Jāmbavat were Brahmā, [I could not do so]. O thou hast [well] studied the Sāstras, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to make obeisance to Rāma who stands without the four orders of society; who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb! How can I make peace with him who has come to kill me? Or if it has distinctly reached thy ears that Rāma is Vishṇu, and has entered into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted [for help] to Sugrīva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his friendship with brutes! Is then Vishṇu destitute of valour that he has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? Or, he is [certainly] devoid of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, demanded of the great Asura three paces of ground, while Bali was consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friendship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him, and he is to deliver us who are his enemies! When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Vishṇu? Whence has this Vishṇu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest such words to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rāxasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from

[30] A verse similar in most of its clauses to this had previously occurred in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio's recension.

Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Laxmaṇa will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Laxmaṇa, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishṇu too, and all Vishṇu's followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.' Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and noise, Rāvaṇa said again: 'I know Sītā, who is sprung from the earth; I know Rāma and Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Vishṇu.'"

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishṇu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvaṇa's death, Mandodarī, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband's loss, speaks as follows (sect. 113, 5 ff., Calc. ed.): *Sa tvam mānusha-mātreṇa Rāmeṇa yudhi nirjitaḥ | na vyapatrapase rājan kim idaṁ rākṣaseśvara* | 6. *Kathaṁ trailokyam ākramya śriyā vīryyeṇa chānvitam | avishahyaṁ jaghāna tvām mānusho vana-gocharaḥ* | 7. *Mānushāṇām avishaye charataḥ kāma-rūpiṇaḥ | vināśas tava Rāmeṇa saṁyuge nopapadyate* | 8. *Na chaitat karma Rāmasya śraddadhāmi chamū-mukhe | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava tenābhimarśaṇam* | 9. *Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Kṛitāntaḥ svayam āgataḥ | māyāṁ tava vināśāya vidhāyāpratitarkitām* | 10. *Athavā Vāsavena tvaṁ dharshito 'si mahābala | Vāsavasya tu kā śaktis tvāṁ drashṭum api saṁyuge* | 11. *Mahābalaṁ mahāvīryyaṁ deva-śatrum mahaujasam | vyaktam esha mahāyogī*[31] *paramātmā sanātanaḥ* | 12. *An-ādi-madhya-nidhano mahataḥ paramo mahān | tamasaḥ paramo dhātā śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ* | 13. *Śrīvatsa-vakṣā nitya-śrīr ajayyaḥ śāśvato dhruvaḥ | mānushaṁ rūpam āsthāya Vishṇuḥ satya-parākramaḥ* | 14. *Sarvaiḥ parivṛito devair vānaratvam upāgataiḥ | sarva-lokeśvaraḥ śrīmān lokānāṁ*

[31] *Svābhāvika-sarva-śakti-yuktaḥ* | Comm.

hita-kāmyayā | 15. *Mahābalam mahāvīryyaṁ deva-śatrum bhayāvaham* | *sa-rāxasa-parīvāraṁ hatavāṁs tvām mahādyutiḥ* | 16. *Indriyāṇi purā jitvā jitam tribhuvanaṁ tvayā* | *smaradbhir iva tad vairam indriyair eva nirjitaḥ* | 17. *Yadaiva hi Jana-sthāne Rāxasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ* | *Kharas tu nihato bhrātā tādā Rāmo na mānushaḥ* |

"5. Art not thou ashamed, o king, to have been conquered by Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rāxasas? 6. How did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movedst at will, invisible to men, shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma is inconceivable. 8. I do not credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (*Kritānta*) came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra). But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who wast (11) the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods? This was manifestly the great contemplator (*Mahāyogin*), the supreme spirit, the eternal, (12) without beginning, middle, or end, the great Being superior to the greatest, superior to darkness, the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the discus, and the club, (13) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishṇu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (14) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys. This glorious and resplendent lord of all the worlds, desiring the good of all the worlds, (15) slew thee, the mighty, the heroic, the terrific, enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Rāxasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou did subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, *i.e.* when thou didst carry off Sītā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rāxasas, was slain [by Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal."

If this quotation from the Calcutta edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio's text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5–8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of one verse (the

ninth) affirming the divine character of Rāma, which we find in Gorresio's edition, there are in the Calcutta recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio's edition are as follows: 9. *Athavā āma-rūpeṇa Vishṇuś cha svayam āgataḥ | tava nāśāya māyābhiḥ praviśyānupalaxitaḥ |* 10. *Yadaiva hi Janasthāne rāxasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ | Kharas tava hato bhrātā tadaivāsau na mānushhaḥ |*. "Or Vishṇu himself came in the form of Rāma, having entered into it unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rāxasas, was slain by [Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal." It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth) which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Calcutta edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio's text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10–15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Rāmāyaṇa made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth verse of the Calcutta text, which represents Death (*Kṛitānta*) as taking the form of Rāma, was more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Vishṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 11 ff. of the Calcutta edition, which represent Rāma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the eleventh and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Rāma's divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Calcutta edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio's. Thus after verse 40 of the Calcutta edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio's, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Calcutta edition = verse 29 of Gorresio's, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio

omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Vishṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvana is to be destroyed. After the Rāxasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament, they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff. Calc. ed.): *Rudro vā yadi vā Vishṇur Mahendro vā Śatakratuḥ | hanti no Rāma-rūpeṇa yadi vā svayam Antakaḥ | hata-pravīrā Rāmeṇa nirāśā jīvite vayam | apaśyanto*[32] *bhayasyāntam anāthā vilapāmahe | Rāma-hastād Daśagrīvaḥ śūro datta-mahāvaraḥ | idam bhayam mahāghoraṁ samutpannaṁ na budhyate | taṁ na devā na gandharvā na piśāchā na rāxasāḥ | upaśrishṭam*[33] *parikrāntuṁ śaktā Rāmeṇa saṁyuge | utpātāśchāpi dṛiśyante Rāvaṇasya raṇe raṇe | kathayanti hi Rāmeṇa Rāvaṇasya nivarhaṇam | Pitāmahena prītena deva-dānava-rāxasaiḥ | Rāvaṇasyābhayaṁ dattam manushebhyo na yāchitam | tad idam mānusham manye prāptaṁ niḥsaṁśayam bhayam | jīvitānta-karaṁ ghoram raxasāṁ Rāvaṇasya cha | pīḍyamānās tu balinā vara-dānena raxasā | dīptais tapobhir vibudhāḥ Pitāmaham apūjayan | devatānāṁ hitārthāya mahātmā vai Pitāmahaḥ | uvācha devatās tushṭa idaṁ sarvā mahad vachaḥ | adya-prabhṛiti lokāṁs trīn sarve dānava-rāxasāḥ | bhayena prāvṛitā nityaṁ vicharishyanti śāśvatam*[34] *| daivatais tu samāgamya sārvaiś Chandra-purogamaiḥ | vṛisha-dhvajas Tripura-hā Mahādevaḥ prātoshitaḥ | prasannas tu Mahādevo devān etad vacho 'bravīt | utpatsyati hitārthaṁ vo nārī raxaḥ-xayāvahā | eshā devaiḥ prayuktā tu xud yathā*[35] *dānavān purā | bhaxayishyati naḥ sarvān rāxasa-ghnī sa-rāvaṇān | Rāvaṇasyāpanītena*[36] *durvinītasya durmateḥ | ayaṁ nishṭhānako ghoraḥ śokena samabhiplutaḥ | Tanna paśyāmahe loke yo naḥ śaraṇa-do bhavet | Rāghaveṇopaśrishṭānām kāleneva yugaxaye |* "Either Rudra, or Vishṇu, or Indra Śatakratu, or

[32] *Apaśyanto 'paśyantyaḥ ārshaḥ* | Comm.

[33] *Upaśrishṭaṁ hantum ārabdham* | Comm. Gorresio's edition has *paritrātum* instead of *parikrāntum*.

[34] This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 f.): *Adya-prabhṛiti lokeshu ye bhūtā bhaya-varjitāḥ | bhayārttās te punar iha vicharishyanti rāxasāḥ.*

[35] The text reads *xud vyathā*; but the Commentary has *xud yathā*. Possibly the proper reading is *xudhitā*, which Gorresio's edition has.

[36] *Apanītena anayena* | Comm.

Death himself slays us in the form of Rāma. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvaṇa) who had received a great boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Rāma. Neither gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Piśāchas, nor Rāxasas, are able to deliver (?) him when assailed by Rāma in battle. Portents, too, regarding Rāvana are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. Pitāmaha, gratified, granted to Rāvana security against gods, Dānavas and Rāxasas, but he did not ask [to be secured] against men. This dreadful danger from men, has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall terminate the life of Rāvaṇa and the Rāxasas. The gods when oppressed by the Rāxasa (Rāvaṇa) who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 'From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rāxasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, overwhelmed with fear.' All the gods,[37] with Chandra (the Moon) at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three cities). He, being pleased, thus spake to them: 'For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rāxasas.' 'This female slayer[38] of Rāxasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvana; as Hunger formerly[39] [devoured] the Dānavas. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvana this dreadful destruction surrounded by affliction has come upon us. Therefore we see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages."

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavatī, extracted

[37] The commentator remarks here: *Evam Brahmaṇaḥ prāsādāt sabhayatvam atra prāptam | saṁhārādi-kṛita (?) Rudra-pradānaṁ tu nāśa evāsmākam ity āhuḥ |* "Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but the further gift of Rudra, the causer of (?) destruction, etc., is that we shall be destroyed."

[38] Sītā, according to the commentator. Gorresio's text has *Saishā daiva-prasṛishṭā tu sudhitā Janakātmajā*, etc.

[39] "In a former Kalpa."—Comm.

above (p. 391 f.) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Could it have been one form of the legend that Sītā, and not Vishṇu, was the real destroyer of Rāvaṇa?

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rākasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Vishṇu:

Āraṇya Kāṇḍa (or Third Book) 30, v. 27 ff. (Calc. ed.)—*Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ śvetāraṇye yathā 'ndhakaḥ | sa Vṛittra iva vajreṇa phenena Namuchir yathā | Balo vendrāśani-hato nipapāta hataḥ Kharaḥ | etasminn antare devāś chāraṇaiḥ saha saṅgatāḥ | dundubhīṁśchābhinighnantaḥ pushpa-varshaṁ samantataḥ | Rāmasyopari saṁhṛishtā vavarshur vismitās tadā | arddhādhika-muhūrttena Rāmeṇa niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ | chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi rakasāṁ kāma-rūpiṇām | Khara-Dūshaṇa-mukhyānāṁ nihatāni mahāmṛidhe | aho vata mahat karma Rāmasya viditātmanaḥ | aho vīryyam aho dārḍhyaṁ Vishṇor iva hi dṛiśyate | ity evam uktvā te sarve yayur devā yathāgatam |* "Burnt up by the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Andhaka who was formerly consumed by Rudra in the white forest. He fell like Vṛittra smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam,[40] or like Bala by the lightning of Indra. At this moment the gods, joined with the Chāraṇas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, rained on Rāma a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: 'In a muhūrtta and a half (two hours) fourteen thousand Rākasas, changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūshaṇa, have been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. O what a mighty exploit of Rāma, sage in spirit (or, who knows himself)! O, his valour and his firmness are seen to be like those of Vishṇu!' Having thus spoken, all those gods went as they came."

The writer of these verses could scarcely have regarded Rāma as an incarnation of Vishṇu, or it would have been superfluous to compare him with that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the thirty-fifth) these verses are not given, but the several classes of rishis are introduced as [among other things] saying to Rāma (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were praising him with triumphal benedictions (*jayāśīrbhiḥ*), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva

[40] See above, p. 222, and note 201.

were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have "made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars," (*namaśchakre vimānasthān dṛishṭvā 'dūre divaukasaḥ* |).

The following is another passage occurring in the Calcutta edition, but not in Gorresio's, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvana, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will ensure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma's own divinity, and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character:

Araṇya Kāṇḍa vi. 106, 1 ff. (Calc. ed.): *Tato yuddha-pariśāntaṁ samare chintayā sthitam* | *Rāvaṇaṁ chāgrato dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam* | 2. *Daivataiś cha samāgamya drashṭum abhyāgato raṇam* | *upāgamyābravīd Rāmam Agastyo bhagavāṁs tadā* | 3. *Rāma Rāma mahābāho śṛiṇu guhyaṁ sanātanam* | *yena sarvān arīn vatsa samare vijayishyasi* | 4. *Āditya-hṛidayam puṇyaṁ sarva-śatru-vināśanam* | *jayāvahaṁ japan nityam axayam paramaṁ śivam* | 5. *Sarva-maṅgala-māṅgalyaṁ sarva-pāpa-praṇāśanam* | *chintā-śoka-praśamanam āyurvardhanam uttamam* | 6. *Raśmimaṇṭaṁ samudyantaṁ devāsura-namaskṛitam* | *pūjayasva Vivasvantam bhāskaram bhuvaneśvaram* | 7. *Sarva-devātmako hy esha tejasvī raśmi-bhāvanaḥ* | *esha devāsura-gaṇān lokān pāti gabhastibhiḥ* | 8. *Esha Brahmā cha Vishṇuś cha Śivaḥ Skandaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* | *Mahendro Dhanadaḥ Kālo Yamaḥ Somo hy Apāṁpatiḥ* | 9. *Pitaro vasavaḥ sādhyā Aśvinau Maruto Manuḥ* | *Vāyur Vahniḥ prajāprāṇaḥ ṛitu-karttā prabhākaraḥ* | 10. *Ādityaḥ Savitā Sūryyaḥ kha-gaḥ Pūshā gabhastimān* | *suvarṇa-sadriśo bhānur hiraṇya-retā*[41] *divākaraḥ* | . . . . . 26. *Pūjayasvainam ekāgro deva-devaṁ jagat-patim* | *etat triguṇitaṁ japtvā yuddheshu vijayishyasi* | 27. *Asmin xaṇe mahābāho Rāvaṇaṁ tvaṁ jahishyasi* | *evam uktvā tato 'gastyo jagāma sa yathāgatam* | *etach chhrutvā mahātejā nashṭa-śoko 'bhavat tadā* | *dhārayāmāsa suprīto Rāghavaḥ prayatātmavān* | 29. *Ādityam prexya japtvedam paraṁ harsham avāptavān* | *trir āchamya śuchir bhūtvā dhanur ādāya vīryyavān* | 30. *Rāvaṇam prexya hṛishṭātmā jayārthaṁ samupāgamat* | *sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛitas tasya badhe 'bhavat* | 31. *Atha ravir avadad nirīxya Rāmam mudita-manāḥ paramam prahṛishyamāṇaḥ* | *niśichara-pati-saṇxayaṁ viditvā sura-gaṇa-madhya-gato vachas tvareti* |

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the con-

[41] *Axarādhikyam ārsham* | Comm.

flict, standing anxious in the battle, and in his front Rāvaṇa, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) joining the gods, arrived to see the conflict; and coming near to Rāma, he said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son,[42] continually muttering it,—(4) the holy *Āditya-hṛidaya* ('heart of the sun'), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat, the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Vishṇu, Śiva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṇa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasus, Sādhyas, Aśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, the breath of creatures, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, Āditya, Savitṛi, Sūryya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant, of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day." Then follow (vv. 11–15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15–21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) *Brahmeśānāchyuteśāya*,[43] "lord of Brahmā, Iśāna (Śiva), and Achyuta (Vishṇu)." After some further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this deity (vv. 26 ff.): "Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the lord of the world." Having thrice muttered this [hymn], thou shalt conquer in battles; in this moment, o great-armed, thou shalt slay Rāvaṇa.' Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief; and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. Beholding the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy. Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the hero took his bow. Beholding

[42] See above, p. 328, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, *vatsa*, "my son," applied to him by Vishṇu. Could, then, the poet here intend to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, when he makes Agastya address him thus?

[43] *Brahmeśānāchyutānāṁ sṛishṭi-saṁhāra-sthiti-karttṛīṇāṁ īśāya svāmine | "sṛishṭi-sthity-anta-karaṇīm Brahma-Vishṇu-Śivātmikām | saṁjñāṁ yāti (?) bhagavān eka eva Janārdanaḥ" iti smṛiteḥ* | Comm.

Rāvaṇa with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. Then the Sun looking upon Rāma with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rāxasas, and going into the midst of the gods, uttered the word 'speed.' "

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio's edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred-and-fifth section of the Calc. ed., is succeeded immediately by one (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding to the fourth verse of the hundred-and-seventh section of the Calcutta edition. The whole of the matter which is wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the connection; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred-and-seventh section (Calc. ed.) of expressions repeating in substance what had been said at the close of the hundred-and-fifth would lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred-and-sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma's divine character, should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhīshaṇa had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa, and come over to Rāma's side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kāṇḍa 18, 22 f., Calc. ed.): *Sudushṭo vā'py adushṭo vā kim esha rajanī-charaḥ | sūxmam apy ahitaṁ karttum mama śaktaḥ kathaṁchana | piśā-chān dānavān yaxān pṛithivyāṁ chaiva rāxasān | anguly-agreṇa tān hanyām ichhan hari-gaṇesvara |* "Whether the Rāxasa be good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānavas, Yaxas, and Rāxasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger." This mode of expression rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio's edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that

he could destroy all those beings "forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon" (*śakto 'haṁ sahasā hantuṁ divyenāstra-balena cha*), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

The termination of Rāma's terrestrial career is thus told in sections 116 ff. of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (116, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma (v. 3). He is admitted and received with honour (v. 9), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to lose his life (v. 13). Rāma informs Laxmaṇa of all this, and desires him to stand outside. Time then tells Rāma (117, 1) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, *i.e.* Vishṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4–7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Vishṇu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 10), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvaṇa, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years; that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 15). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsas[44] comes, and insists on seeing Rāma immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma and all his family (118, 1 ff.). Laxmaṇa, preferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Rāma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi's message to Rāma (v. 8 f.). Rāma comes out, and when Durvāsas has got the food he wished, and departed, Rāma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that

[44] Compare p. 165, above.

Laxmaṇa should die (v. 16). Laxmaṇa, however (119, 2 f.), exhorts Rāma not to grieve, but to abandon him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors concurring in this advice (v. 9), Rāma abandons Laxmaṇa, who goes to the river Sarayū, suppresses all his senses, and is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven. The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Vishṇu (v. 19). Rāma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Laxmaṇa (120, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 8). Rāma's subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (v. 12). Messengers are sent to Śatrughna, the other brother, and he also resolves to accompany Rāma (121, 1–14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the "great departure" (*mahā-prasthāna*, 122, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, joyless, with Śrī on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the forms of Brahmans, by the Gāyatrī, the Omkāra, the Vashaṭkāra, by rishis, by his women, female slaves, eunuchs, and servants. Bharata with his family, and Śatrughna, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, etc. etc. Rāma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayū (sect. 123). Brahmā, with all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appears, and all the sky is refulgent with the divine splendour. Pure and fragrant breezes blow, a shower of flowers falls. Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: "Approach, Vishṇu; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter thine own body as Vishṇu, or the eternal æther. For thou art the abode of the worlds (*loka-gatiḥ*): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse." Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Vishṇu (*Vaishṇavaṁ tejas*) with his body and his followers. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly.

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the Mahābhārata (Droṇa-parva, v. 2246) merely speaks of Rāma's going to

heaven with four kinds of creatures (*chaturvidhāḥ prajā Rāmaḥ svargaṁ nītvā divaṁ gataḥ*). The Rāmopākhyāna in the Mahābhārata does not describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus the commentator on Kishk. K. sect. 43 (Calc. ed.) remarks on 46 ff.: *Itaḥ uttaram kechid "ramante sahitās tatra nārībhiḥ bhāsvara-prabhāḥ"* (v. 50) *ity antāḥ ślokāḥ praxiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakeshv anupalambhād iti Kataḳaḥ* | "Kataka (a previous commentator) says that after this (forty-sixth verse) some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) 'They sport there resplendent, along with their women,' are rejected, because they are not found in the old copies."

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa, the commentator remarks: *Itaḥ param pañcha-sargāḥ praxiptā bodhyāḥ* | "After this five sections are to be regarded as rejected." On these five sections, the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth, he gives no commentary. In sect. 24, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the forty-second section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: *Etad-uttaram Bāli-Sugrīvotpatti-pratishṭhā Rāvaṇasya Śvetadvīpa-gamanetihāsaś cha kapatiyaiḥ (katipayaiḥ ?) sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu dṛiśyate* | *tat-pūrva-sargānte eva Agastyasya āśrama-gamana-kathanāsaṅgateḥ Kataka-Tīrthādy-anādattatvād mayā 'pi na vyākhyātāḥ* | *Uttare bahavaḥ sargāḥ praxiptāḥ* | "That which follows—viz. the celebration of the birth of Bāli and Sugrīva, and the story of Rāvaṇa's journey to Śveta-dvīpa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in (?) several sections. But as these sections have not been received by Kataka, Tīrtha, and other [previous commentators], owing to their inconsistence with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (41, vv. 51, 58 ff.) of Agastya's departure to his hermitage, I have left them uncommented." Sections 43–47 are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 69, he remarks: *Etad-agre praxiptatvāt Kataka-Tīrthābhyāṁ na vyākhyātam* | *etad uttaraṁ gṛidhrolūkākhyānañcha kvachid dṛiśyate* | "What succeeds has not been explained by

Kataka and Tīrtha on the ground of spuriousness. And the story of the vulture and owl which follows is [only] found in some copies." Sections 70–72 have no comment; and in fact the beginning of section 73 seems to be connected with the end of section 69.

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still preserved in the Rāmāyaṇa were regarded by the commentators as spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, as internal-evidence proves it to have prevailed in India for many centuries past, of interpolating legendary works such as the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at at earlier period also. And the example of the Mahābhārata confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 148 ff.,[45] Signor Gorresio remarks as follows (vol. x. Preface, p. xlvii. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question (whether the idea of the incarnation of Vishṇu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The Mahābhārata also contains a history of Rāma, which is told to

[45] On this passage he observes (p. xlvii.): "Among the names here assigned to Vishṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Krishṇa, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."

Yudhishthira by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, in the Vana-parva, vv. 15872–16602. In this episode it is briefly related (v. 15878 f.) that Daśaratha had four sons, born of his three queens. The birth and history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881–15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Vaiśravaṇa. The latter deserted his father and went to Brahmā, who as a reward made him immortal and appointed him the god of riches, with Laṅkā for his capital, and the Pushpaka for his vehicle. His father, Pulastya, however, being incensed at this desertion of himself, created another son, Viśravas, who looked on Vaiśravaṇa with ill-will. The latter, to pacify his father[46] (v. 15890 ff), gave him three elegant Rākṣasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa; Mālinī, who bore Vibhīshaṇa; and Rākā, who bore Khara, and Śūrpaṇakhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Veda, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravaṇa, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvaṇa cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons. He ordained that Rāvaṇa should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarṇa should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep[47] (*sa vavre mahatīṁ nidrāṁ tamasā grasta-chetanaḥ*). Vibhīshaṇa asks that he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the weapon of Brahmā may appear to him unlearned.[48] Having obtained such power, Rāvaṇa expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Laṅkā.

[46] Viśravas must be here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Viśravas appears to have been born after Vaiśravaṇa, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father, Pulastya. Vaiśravaṇa means the son of Viśravas, and in v. 15925, Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhīshaṇa, who must have been the son of Viśravas, as his brother Rāvaṇa is called in v. 15930. There appears to be some confusion in the account.

[47] This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 394) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.

[48] *Aśīrvādañcha bhagavan Brahmāstraṁ pratibhātu me* | See the Second Vol. of this work, p. 433.

Vibhīshaṇa follows his brother[49] (v. 15925) Kuvera, who retires to Gandhamādana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Vishṇu, the chief of warriors, should descend to earth for his destruction (*tad-artham avatīrṇo 'sau man-niyogāch chaturbhujaḥ | Vishṇuḥ praharatāṁ śreshṭhaḥ sa tat karma karishyati |*). No account, is, however, given of the way in which Vishṇu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Indra and the other gods to beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Vishṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions to a Gandharvī called Dundubhī, who was born on earth as Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha's thone for her own son Bharata (vv. 15960 ff.).

This portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvaṇa, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, need not have formed an original part of the poem: though an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma's army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying: *Asti tatra Nalo nāma vānaraḥ śilpi-sammataḥ | Tvashṭur devasya tanayo balavān Viśvakarmaṇaḥ |* "There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭri Viśvakarman."

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined them, with those of the Rāmāyaṇa: though there are some minor points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is alluded to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Calcutta edition, in these words: *Atha Sītāyā Laṅkā-pura-praveśaṁ vinā Rāvaṇa-badhasyāśak-*

[49] In v. 16158 f. Vibhīshaṇa is said to dwell with a white umbrella, and white garlands, on the S'vetaparvata, or, "white mountain," attended by his four counsellors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumbhakarṇa, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314, he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected, it might appear to be implied that he came from Laṅkā, as is expressly related in the Rāmāyaṇa, v. 89, 1, 43, Gorr.; and vi. 17, 1, Calc. ed.

yatayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kṛita-kubjā-veshayā Mantharāyā Rāmābhisheka-vighna-pravṛittim . . . . . vaktum upakramate | "Now since Rāvaṇa could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvaṇa's inauguration," etc. Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Kumbhakarṇa as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a boon.[50] The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata, is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 352, note 327.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rākxasas (vv. 1657 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 148 ff.).[51]

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative

[50] The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage quoted above, is here briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): *Nalakūvara-śāpena raxitā hy asi nandini | śapto hy esha purā pāpo badhūm Rambhām parāmṛishan | na śaknoty avaśām nārīm upaitum ajitendriyaḥ* | "Thou art protected, happy one, by the curse of Nalakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa) having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.'s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman."

[51] My attention has been drawn by a brochure of Professor M. Williams, which is passing through the press, to another passage in the Mahābhārata where Rāma is mentioned. He is there (Droṇa-parva 2224–2248) celebrated in the most hyperbolical language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to "have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men," but no reference appears to be made to his possessing a divine nature. The word *īśvara* applied to him in v. 2242 appears to mean only "lord," and not to be employed in the sense of "god."

in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhyā, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled to greet him, and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Kṛita Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, being teased with the visits of different damsels, proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage should become pregnant. This had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Triṇavindu, who one day came into Pulastya's neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife, and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was like his father, an austere and religious sage. He married the daughter of the muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravaṇa = Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). He performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśvakarman for the Rāxasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Vishṇu, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rāxasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin. He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Vishṇu. Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings,—some of whom received the name of Rāxasas,—to guard them. The first Rāxasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married a sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Lankaṭankaṭā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśa, whom she abandoned, but he was seen by Śiva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvatī (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as old as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a celestial city. Pārvatī, too, gave as a boon to the Rāxasa women the

power of immediate conception and parturition (v. 30). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumāli, and Māli (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12) and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods (16). Viśvakarman gave them a city, Laṇkā, on the mountain Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built at the command of Indra (v. 25). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat's wife, Sundarī, bears Vajramushṭi, Virūpāxa, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Analā (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli's wife, Ketumatī, bears Prahasta, Kampana, Vikaṭa, Kālikāmukha, Dhūmrāxa, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrādi, Pradyasa, Bhāsakarṇa, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkaṭā, Kaikasī, and Kumbhīnasī (v. 39 ff.). Māli's wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Hara, and Sampāti (v. 43). The three Rāxasas, Mālyavat and his two brothers, then began to oppress the gods, rishis, etc.; who (sect. 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva ("the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds"), who, having regard to his protegé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rāxasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Vishṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). The three Rāxasa kings, hearing of this, consult together (v. 23 ff.), and proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46). Vishṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rāxasas are defeated by Vishṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Laṇkā, one of their leaders, Māli, being slain (v. 42). Mālyavat remonstrates with Vishṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct, and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.). Vishṇu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rāxasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumāli are driven into Laṇkā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishṇu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rāxasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvaṇa, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, *i.e.* by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumāli with his family lived for a

long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Laṇkā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumāli once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikasī to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously. She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvaṇa (v. 29), of the huge Kumbhakarṇa (v. 34), of Śūrpaṇakhā, and of the righteous Vibhīshaṇa, who was the last son (v. 35).[52] These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakarṇa goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikasī takes occasion to urge her son Rāvaṇa to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvaṇa promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokarṇa with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvaṇa throws his head as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He repeats this oblation nine times after equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12), and offers a boon. Rāvaṇa asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men; which boon is accorded by Brahmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibhīshaṇa (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 411) asks as his boon (v. 30 f.) that "even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the weapon of Brahmā may appear to him unlearnt," etc. (*paramāpad-gatasyāpi dharme mama matir bhavet | aśixitañcha brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me*[53]). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarṇa, the gods interpose, as, they say, he had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; and beg that under

[52] This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 411), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here), is also a son of Viśravas.

[53] The commentator explains these last words thus: *aśixitaṁ sad-gurūpadeśaṁ vināpīty arthaḥ | brahmāstram brahma-vidyā | etad varaṇam aśesha brahma-vidyā-siddhi-pratibandhaka-nivṛittaye |* "Unlearnt, that is, [may it appear to me], even without the instruction of a good teacher. The weapon of Brahmā is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge."

the guise of a boon stupefaction may be inflicted on him. Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives, and by Brahmā's command (*Vāṇi tvaṁ Rāxasendrasya bhava vāg-devatepsitā*) enters into Kumbhakarṇa's mouth, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45).[51] When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, by his father's advice, gives up the city of Laṇkā to Ravaṇa (sect. 11, v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 41, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits: "44. *Asau punar vyākaraṇaṁ grahīshyan sūryonmukhaḥ prashṭu-manāḥ kapīndraḥ | udyad-girer asta-giriṁ jagāma grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyaḥ | 45. Sa-sūtra-vṛitty-artha-padam mahārthaṁ sa-sangrahaṁ sidhyati vai kapīndraḥ | na hy asya kaschit sadṛiśo 'sti śāstre vaiśārade chhanda-gatau tathaiva | sarvāsu vidyāsu tapo-vidhāne praspardhate 'yaṁ hi guruṁ surāṇām |* "44. Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat), measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on enquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz., the aphorisms (*sūtra*), the commentary (*vṛitti*), the vārttika (*artha-pada*), of extensive contents, and the sangraha [of Vyāḍi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the śāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods."

The following is the commentary on the above passage: *Udyad-girer mahad granthaṁ dhārayan arthataḥ pāṭhataś cha gṛihṇan | dhārayan aprameya iti nuḍ-abhāva ārshaḥ | sūrya-sāmmukhyārthaṁ tāvad gamanam | 45. Ko 'sau granthas tatrāha sa-sūtreti | sūtram ashṭādhyāyī-*

[51] The commentator remarks here: *evam ity atra shaṇ-māsād arvāk jāgaraṇaṁ neti niyamaḥ | tad-adhikaṃ api nidrā tu bhavaty eveti vara-svarūpam bodhyam | ata eva shaṇ-māsān svapitīti pūrvaṁ Vibhīshaṇoktyā varshāṇy anekānīti Kumbhakarṇoktyā cha pūrvoktasya na virodhaḥ |* "In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarṇa should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhīshaṇa that 'he sleeps six months,' and Kumbhakarṇa here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former."

laxaṇam | vṛittis tātkālika-sūtra-vṛittiḥ | artha-padam sūtrārtha-bodhaka-pada-vad vārttikam mahārtham mahābhāshyam Patañjali-kṛitam | sa-saṅgraham Vyāḍi-kṛita-saṅgrahākhya-grantha-sahitam | sidhyati vai siddho bhavati śāstrāntareshv apīty arthaḥ | tad evāha | na hy asya śadṛisaḥ śāstre kaśchit chhanda-gatau pūrvottara-mīmāṁsā-mukhena vedārtha-nirṇaye vaiśārade vaidushye | viśishya navama-vyākaraṇa-karttā Hanūmān iti prasiddhir iti Kaṭakaḥ | ayaṁ Gurum praspardhate | "From the mountain where the sun rises, 'holding,' apprehending in sense and in text 'the great collection.' The absence of the reduplicated *n* in *dhārayan aprameyaḥ* is vedic (*ārsha*). He went to face the sun. 45. In the words 'with the sūtras,' etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (*ashṭādhyāyī*). The *vṛitti* is the contemporaneous gloss on the sūtras (*sūtra-vṛitti*). The *artha-pada*, 'of extensive contents,' is the *vārttika*, the mahābhāshya composed by Patanjali, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sūtras. 'With the *saṅgraha*,' means with the book called Sangraha, composed by Vyāḍi. 'He is perfect' means he excels in other śāstras also, as the author goes on to say; 'for no one is like him in the śāstras, in ascertaining the sense,' in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmānsā. 'In skill,' *i.e.* in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Kataka's explanation."

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays ii. pp. 39, 48.

Page 159, *line* 15.

The word Ākhaṇḍala occurs in R. V. viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta iii. 10, *Ākhaṇḍala pra hūyase;* "o Ākhaṇḍala, thou art invoked." It is rendered by "destroyer" in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon.

Page 195, *lines* 11 *and* 27.

Instead of "*mārjālīyāya*," read "*mārjālīyāya*." When I rendered this word by "cat," the only significations of it of which I was aware, were those given in Wilson's Dictionary. I have since accidentally noticed it mentioned in a sentence of Sāyaṇa's Commentary on R. V. i. 1, 4 (*prāchyādi-chatur-dig-anteshv āhavanīya-mārjālīya-gārhapatyā-*

gṛidhrīya-sthāneshv agnir asti), as the name of one of the four sacrificial fires. The word also (as Professor Aufrecht has pointed out to me) occurs in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 5, 32, where it is explained by the commentator. Instead, therefore, of "the cat," read in line 27, "the Mārjālīya fire."

Page 206, *line* 5 *from the bottom.*

Krishṇa, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuṇa the first choice:

Udyoga-parva, vv. 147 ff.—*Mat-saṁhanana-tulyānāṁ*[65] *gopānām arbudam mahat | Nārāyaṇā iti khyātāḥ sarve saṅgrāma-yodhinaḥ | te vā yudhi durādharshā bhavantv ekasya sainikāḥ | ayudhyamānaḥ saṅgrāme nyasta-śastro 'ham ekataḥ | ābhyām anyataram Pārtha yat te hṛidyataram matam | tad vṛiṇītām bhavān agre pravāryas tvaṁ hi dharmataḥ |* "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdsmen called Nārāyaṇas, whose bodies are equal to my own, and who are all fighting men: or let him take, on the other hand, myself who do not engage, in battle, and have laid aside my weapons. Do thou, son of Pṛithā, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Krishṇa himself, "the unborn Nārāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (*Nārāyaṇam amitraghnaṁ kāmāj jātam ajaṁ nṛishu*), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

Page 222, *last line of note* 201.

The story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is also told in the Mahābhārata, Śalya-parva (vv. 2434 ff.): *Namuchir Vāsavād bhītaḥ sūryya-raśmiṁ samāviśat | tenendraḥ sakhyam akarot samayañchedam abravīt | "na chārdreṇa na śushkeṇa na rātrau nāpi chāhani | badhishyāmy asura-śreshṭha sakhe satyena te śape" | evaṁ sa kṛitvā samayaṁ dṛishṭvā nīhāram īśvaraḥ | chichchhedāsya śiro rājann apām phenena Vāsavaḥ | tach chhiro Namucheś chhinnaṁ pṛishṭhataḥ Śakram anviyāt |*

[65] The word *saṁhanana* occurs also in Droṇa-parva, v. 147.

bho mitrahana pāpeti bruvāṇaṁ Sakram antikāt | evaṁ sa śirasā tena chodyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | Pitāmahāya santapta etam arthaṁ nyavedayat | tam abravīt loka-gurur aruṇāyāṁ yathāvidhi | ishṭvopaspṛiśa devendra tīrthe pāpa-bhayāpahe | "Namuchi being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him, and uttered this agreement: 'I shall neither slay thee with wet nor with dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee, my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.' Having made this agreement, the lord Vāsava (Indra), beholding a fog, [when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, 'o wicked slayer of thy friend.' Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Indra] represented the matter to Pitāmaha (Brahmā). The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahmā) said to him: 'Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Aruṇā, that sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,'" etc.

Page 245, *line* 30.

"No mortal," etc. These words are differently explained by the commentator, thus: *Jarāsandhena abhāgaḥ asvīkṛitaḥ | purushataḥ mūrdhābhishikteshu purusheshu | tena sarve vaśīkṛitāḥ ity arthaḥ |* "*Abhāgaḥ* means 'unappropriated' by Jarāsandha. *Purushataḥ* means 'among anointed kings.' The sense is, that 'all have been subdued by him.'"

Page 253, *line* 12.

Compare R. V. viii. 22, 14, in p. 265.

Page 293, *line* 2.

Rukma-vedi-nibhāḥ. In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvaṇa is described as *rukma-vedi-gatam*, which the commentator explains as *rukma-vedim prāptaṁ hiranyeshṭaka-chitāṁ vedim prāptam*, "mounted on a platform of golden bricks."

Page 310, *line* 10.

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, Calc. ed.), his queen, Mandodarī, among other attributes which she ascribes to him,

speaks of him (v. 49) as *jetāraṁ lokapālānāṁ xeptāraṁ Saṅkarasya cha*, "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of Saṅkara." Saṅkara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandīśvara quoted above, p. 393, it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Saṅkara.

Page 344, *line* 20.

I have not observed any mention of the *Liṅga* in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 36, v. 42 f., the following lines occur: *Yatra yatra cha yāti sma Rāvaṇo rāxaseśvaraḥ | jāmbūnadamayaṁ liṅgaṁ tatra tatra sma nīyate | 43. Bālukā-vedi-madhye tu tal liṅgaṁ sthāpya Rāvaṇaḥ | archayāmāsa gandhaiś cha pushpaiś chāmṛita-gandhibhiḥ |* "Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rāxasas, went, a golden *liṅga* was carried thither. Placing that *liṅga* in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour."

The commentator remarks on v. 43: *Aiśvaryya-kāmanayā sauvarṇa-liṅga-pūjā[yās ?] tantreshūkteḥ |* "For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden *liṅga* should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty."

Page 350, *line* 15.

For "verse 26," read "verse 28." In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: *Vṛiddhāṁścha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidaḥ śuchīn | vṛiddha-sevī hi satataṁ raxobhir api pūjyate |* "Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmans, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rāxasas." Can this verse refer to the character *vṛiddha-sevī* given to Atikāya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 26) quoted in the text? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connection? The coincidence is at least curious.

Page 354, *last line*.

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit as

given in the thirty-second and following sections of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra becomes afraid and resorts to Vishṇu (sect. 32, 6) whom he glorifies as the Creator and Destroyer, and asks his aid (v. 13). Vishṇu replies that he could not interfere without killing Rāvaṇa,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rākṣasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). A battle takes place between the gods and Rākṣasas (v. 26). The eighth Vasu Sāvitra comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumāli, and kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (sect. 33). The Rākṣasas are rallied by Indrajit, and the gods put to flight. Indra's son, Jayanta, enters the fray. After his son's apparent destruction (v. 23)—though he in reality only disappears—Indra himself comes upon the scene, and captures Rāvaṇa (sect. 34, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Ravaṇa), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, binds Indra (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, go to Laṅkā (sect. 35). Brahmā praises Indrajit's valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit ("the conqueror of Indra"). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released. Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality. This Brahmā refuses. Indrajit then asks that if he offers a sacrifice to Agni he shall obtain Agni's car, and that while he is mounted on that chariot he shall be immortal; but if he shall not have finished the rite, he is to be liable to destruction (see above, p. 354). Brahmā agrees to this, and Indra is released. Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 18–42) that he had incurred this misfortune because he had corrupted Ahalyā, the first woman, whom Brahmā had made and had given to the sage Gautama. She, however, would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishṇu incarnate in Rāma, and Indra himself was to offer a Vaishṇava sacrifice (see pp. 249, 353, above, and compare the forty-eighth and forty-ninth sections of the Twelfth Book of the Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Schl.; and a similar purification of Indra for another sin, above p. 420). I quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the first woman Ahalyā:

Sect. 35, 19 ff.—*Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ sṛishṭās tathā prabho | eka-varṇāḥ samābhāshā eka-rūpāś cha sarvaśaḥ | tāsāṁ nāsti viśesho hi darśane laxaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'haṁ ekāgra-manās tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam | so 'haṁ tāsāṁ viśeshārthaṁ strīyam ekāṁ vinirmame | yad yat prajānām pratyangaṁ viśishṭaṁ tat tad uddhṛitam | tato mayā*

rūpa-guṇair Ahalyā strī vinirmitā | "O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one form in every respect. There was no distinction of them in appearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then with intent mind reflected on these creatures. In order to distinguish them I formed one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose her]. A woman faultless (*ahalyā*) in form was then fashioned by me."

Page 363, *line* 3 *from bottom.*

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Saṁhitā MSS. of the R. V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Mandala = Aṣṭaka viii. 7, 14). I will first give the text with a translation of the genuine hymn to Night (R. V. x. 127) and then quote the Pariśishṭa:

R. V. x. 127.—1. *Ratrī vi akhyad āyatī purutrā devī axabhiḥ* | *viśvāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhita* | 2. *Ā uru aprāḥ amartyā nivato devī udvataḥ* | *jyotishā bādhate tamaḥ* | 3. *Nir ū svasāram askṛita ushasam devī āyatī* | *apa id u hāsate tamaḥ* | 4. *Sā no adya yasyā vayaṁ ni te yāmann avikṣmahi* | *vṛixe na vasatiṁ vayaḥ* | 5. *Ni grāmāso avixata ni padvanto ni pakṣiṇaḥ* | *ni śyenāsaś chid arthinaḥ* | 6. *Yāvaya vṛikyaṁ vṛikaṁ yavaya stenam ūrmye* | *athā naḥ sutarā bhava* | 7. *Upa mā pepiśat tamaḥ kṛishṇaṁ vyaktam asthita* | *ushaḥ ṛiṇā iva yātaya* | 8. *Upa te gāḥ iva ā akaraṁ vṛiṇīshva duhitar divaḥ* | *rātri stomaṁ na jigyushe* | "The divine Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has revealed all her splendours. 2. The immortal goddess has widely filled the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness. 3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the darkness is dissipated. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have come into thy course, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, and even suppliant hawks have entered in thither. 6. Drive away, o Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief: and carry us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness enveloping (?) me, dark and palpable, has beset me: do thou, Ushas, drive it away like one who is bound [to do so]. 8. I have prepared for thee a hymn, as it were a

present of cows, like [an encomium] for a conqueror. Receive it, o Night, daughter of the Day."

1. (=Nir. iv. 29.; A. V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—*Ā rātri pārthivaṁ rajaḥ pitur aprāyi dhāmabhiḥ | divaḥ sadāṁsi bṛihatī vi tishṭhase ā tveshaṁ varttate tamaḥ |* 2. (A. V. 19, 47, 3) *Ye te rātri nṛichaxaso yuktāso*[66] *navatir nava | aśītiḥ santv ashṭā uto te sapta saptatiḥ |* 3. *Rātrim prapadye jananīṁ sarva-bhūta-niveśanīm*[67] *| bhadrām bhagavatīṁ kṛishṇāṁ viśvasya jagato niśām |* 4. *Saṁveśanīṁ saṁyamanīṁ graha-naxatra-mālinīm | prapanno 'haṁ śivāṁ rātrīm bhadre pāram aśīmahi bhadre pāram aśīmahi oṁ namaḥ |* 5. *Stoshyāmi prayato devīṁ śaraṇyām bahvṛicha-priyām | sahasra-sammitāṁ Durgāṁ Jātavedase sunavāma somam |* 6. *S'ānty-arthaṁ tad dvijātīnām ṛishibhiḥ somapā śritāḥ (samupāśritā ?) | ṛig-vede tvaṁ samutpannā 'rātīyato nidahāti vedaḥ |* 7. *Ye tvāṁ devi prapadyante brāhmaṇā havya-vāhanīm | avidyā bahuvidyā vā sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṇi viśvā |* 8. *Agni-varṇāṁ śubhāṁ saumyāṁ kīrttayishyanti ye dvijāḥ | tān tārayati durgāṇi nāveva sindhuṁ duritā 'ty Agniḥ |* 9. *Durgeshu vishame ghore saṅgrāme ripu-saṅkaṭe | agni-chora-nipāteshu dushṭa-graha-nivāraṇe |* 10. *Durgeshu vishameshu tvāṁ saṅgrāmeshu vaneshu cha | mohayitvā prapadyante teshām me abhayaṁ kuru teshām me abhayaṁ kuru oṁ namaḥ |* 11. *Keśinīṁ sarva-bhūtānām pañchamīti cha nāma cha | sā mām samā niśā devī sarvataḥ pariraxatu sarvataḥ pariraxatu oṁ namaḥ |* [v. 12 is the same as the verse quoted by Weber in the text (p. 363), beginning *tām agni-varṇām*, etc.] | 13. *Durgā durgeshu sthāneshu saṁ no devīr abhishṭaye | ya imaṁ Durgā-stavam puṇyam rātrau rātrau sadā paṭhet | rātriḥ kuśikah saubharo rātrī-stavo gāyatrī | rātri-sūktaṁ japed nityaṁ tatkālam upapadyate |*

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for some assistance in correcting the corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

"1. O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's rays (?). Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and thick darkness prevails. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee[68] be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I approach Night, the mother

[66] For *yuktāsaḥ*, the A. V. reads *drashṭāraḥ*, "seers."

[67] This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R. V. i. 35, 1: *rātrīṁ jagato niveśanīm.*

[68] Or, according to the reading of the A. V., "May thy man-beholders, lookers, be," etc.

who finds a home for all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the whole world. 4. I have approached the auspicious Night, who causes men to enter [their abodes], who controuls, who is invested with a garland of planets and stars. O gracious night, may we reach the opposite shore! may we reach the opposite shore! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bahvṛichas (priests of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour forth soma to Jātavedas (Fire). 6. Thou who art resorted to by rishis for the expiation of twice-born men, hast thy origin in the Rig-veda. [Agni] burns up the wealth of him who injures us. 7. The Brahmans, learned or ignorant, who resort, o goddess, to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be traversed,—as with a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. Bewildered (?) in difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired [?], among all creatures, and whose name is Panchamī. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. (12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 363, line 11). May the divine (?) Durgā be propitious for our good in difficult places. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatrī),—he who continually mutters the rātri-sūkta, arrives at that time."

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

Page 365, *line* 3.

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agni, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: *Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kāla-nishṭhā-karī prabho | bhayān[tayā ?]naḥ pāhi pāpebhyaḥ aihikāch-cha mahābhayāt* | 53. *Karālī nāma yā jihvā mahā-pralaya-kāraṇam | tayā na pāhi ityādi* | 54. *Manojavā cha yā jihvā laghimā-guṇa-lakṣaṇā | tayā ityādi* | 55. *Karoti kāmam bhūtebhyo yā te jihvā Sulohitā | tayā*

ityādi | 56. *Sudhūmra-varṇā yā jihvā prāṇināṁ roga-dāyikā* | *tayā ityādi* | 57. *Sphuliṅginī cha yā jihvā yataḥ (?) sakala-pudgalā* | *tayā ityādi* | 58. *Yā te Viśvā sadā jihvā prāṇināṁ śarma-dāyinī* | *tayā ityādi* | "52. By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojavā, which is distinguished by the quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā, which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By thy tongue Sudhūmravarṇa, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphuliṅginī, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc.

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: *Tvām ashṭadhā kalpayitvā yajñam ādyam akalpayan* | "Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice." Does this refer to the legend from the Brahmanas given in pp. 283–289? Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the Śatarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 268, 269) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventieth verse of this hymn: *Yat te Vahne śivam rūpaṁ ye cha te sapta-hetayaḥ* | *taiḥ pāhi naḥ stuto deva pitā puttram ivātmajam* | "When thou art lauded, Agni, preserve us by thine auspicious form, and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son."

In v. 63 Agni is said to have "stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes." (*tvayā tataṁ viśvam idaṁ charācharam Hutāśanaiko bahudhā tvam atra*).

ADDITIONAL NOTE *on page* 115, *line* 9.

In the Calcutta edition, section 29, the reading here is different, as the words *Kaśyapo 'bravīt* are succeeded by the following: *Adityā devatānāñcha mama chaivānuyāchitam* | *varaṁ varada suprīto dātum arhasi suvrata* | "Bestow in thy good pleasure the boon solicited by Aditi, by the gods, and by me. Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi," etc. etc., as in Schlegel. Then after the line *Śokārttānāṁ tu devānāṁ sāhāyyam*

karttum arhasi comes the following: v. 18. *Ayaṁ siddhāśramo nāma prasādāt te bhavishyati | siddhe karmaṇi deveśa uttishṭha bhagavann itaḥ |* 19. *Atha Vishṇur mahātejā Ādityāṁ samajāyata | vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya Vairochanim upāgamat |* 20. *Trīn padān atha bhixitvā ityādi |* "'By thy grace this shall be the hermitage of the perfect. When thy work is accomplished, arise hence, o divine being.' Then the glorious Vishṇu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana, and begging three paces of ground," etc. It will be observed that an attempt is here made to connect the legend of the birth of Vishṇu from Kaśyapa and Aditi with the story of the dwarf incarnation more closely than it is connected in Schlegel's edition; for first, Kaśyapa is made to allude to the "hermitage of the perfect," as if he were himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel's edition; and secondly, the transition from the digression about Vishṇu's birth as the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi back to the story of the dwarf incarnation is more cleverly managed here than in Schlegel's edition, as here the words *evam uktaḥ surair Vishṇuḥ* ("being thus addressed by the gods, Vishṇu," etc.) which in Schlegel's edition (v. 17) carry us back to v. 8, and ignore all that intervenes, are omitted. It will also be noticed that another verse (the one quoted at the commencement of this note) is introduced at the beginning of Kaśyapa's address to Vishṇu, in which the gods are mentioned as fellow-suppliants with Kaśyapa. This alteration also appears to have been made to facilitate the transition from the interpolated lines back to the main story.

It is to be observed, however, that the readings of the Calcutta edition differ from those of Schlegel's in several respects at the beginning of the section also.

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